FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 230 *1 December 1981*

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Arrive 30 Nov AA 1
CSSR's Urban Discusses Trade With CEMA Neighbors AA 1
CEMA Metallurgy Conference Opens in Budapest AA 1

BULGARIA

Further Reportage on Cypriot President's Visit C 1
Zhivkov Dinner Toast 24 Nov C 1
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 26 Nov]
Kiprianou Toast C 3
Departing Statement 27 Nov C 4
Communique Issued C 5
[Nicosia]
Further Imports of Consumer Goods Discussed C 7
Zhivkov, Leaders Commission Projects in Shumen C 8
Zhivkov Visits Youth Exhibition in Plovdiv 27 Nov C 8
Youths' Achievements Noted C 8
Meeting With Politburo Members C 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Husak Meets With GDR's Honecker 30 Nov D 1
Details of Talks D 1
Further on Talks D 1
Dinner Honors Honecker D 2
Fojtik Receives Visiting CPSU's Zamyatin D 2
Kucera Holds Talks With Poland's Kowalczyk D 2
Subject of Talks D 2
[RUDE PRAVO 25 Nov]
Departure of Kowalczyk D 3
[Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Nov]
Polish Solidarity Actions Analyzed, Criticized D 3
Rural Solidarity: 'Sabotage' D 3
[RUDE PRAVO 27 Nov]
'Tumultuous Poland': Part One D 4
[RUDE PRAVO 21 Nov]
Rightwingers' 'Satisfaction' D 7
[TRIBUNA No 46 18 Nov]
RUDE PRAVO Scores 'Bright Star' Maneuvers D 8
[27 Nov]
U.S. Accused of 'Ideological Subversion' D 9
[RUDE PRAVO 25 Nov]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Speeches at Third SED Central Committee Plenum E 1
Honecker Report 19 Nov E 1
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Nov]
Fischer Statement E 29
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21/22 Nov]
Naumann Speaks E 32
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21/22 Nov]

UN Representative's Report E 33
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21/22 Nov]
Cottbus Bezirk Secretary E 35
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21/22 Nov]

POLAND

PZPR Central Committee Speeches Reported G 1
LE MONDE: Jaruzelski To Suspend Right To Strike G 3
[Guetta, Paris 29-30 Nov]
Reportage of Party Officials' Activities G 4
Jaruzelski at Regional Meeting G 4
Milewski in Czestochowa G 5
[TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Nov]
Orzechowski in Walbrzych G 5
Former PZPR Voivodship First Secretary Expelled G 6
TRYBUNA LUDU Party Organization Views Tasks G 6
[23 Nov]
PZPR Szczecin Figure Resigns, Forms New Group G 7
Pro-Accord Initiative Group Set up in Gorzow G 7
Reportage on Firefighters School Strike G 7
Ministry Proposes Closing G 7
Backgrcund to Strike G 7
Council Dissolves School G 8
Militia Surrounds School G 8
TRYBUNA LUDU Analyzes Cause of Recent Strikes G 9
Solidarity Suspends Strike Readiness in Chorzow G 9
Suspension Until 7 Dec G 9
Incident Linked With KPN G 10
First Round of Talks End at Radom School Strike G 10
Lublin School Strike Actions, Agreement Reported G 11
Commission Set up G 11
Agree on Socioeconomic Council G 11
Team on Housing Problems G 12
Strike Spreads to Swidnik G 12
Warsaw Lists Wloclawek Farmers' Demands G 12
Pila Voivodship Solidarity Ends Debate G 13
Warsaw Radio Reports New Solidarity Weekly G 13
Appeal Against Bratkowski Expulsion Approved G 13
PAP Cites Rakowski Remarks in Ostroleka G 14
Council of Ministers Adopts Draft Economic Bills G 14
Press on Decisions G 15
Operational Anticrisis Staff Adopts New Measures G 16
PZPR Leaders Give Views on National Accord G 16
Rakowski Interview 30 Nov G 16
Olszowski Interview 26 Nov G 20
[TRYBUNA LUDU 26 Nov]
Barcikowski Interview 24 Nov G 24
[TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Nov]
SLOWO POWSZECHNE Criticizes Sejm Presidium [23 Nov] G 28
ZYCIE WARSZAWY Urges Need for Sacrifices G 29
Operational Groups Begin Work Nationwide G 30
Work in 150 Centers G 30
Work in Gorzow Begun G 30
More Details on Tasks G 30
Women's League Congress Opens in Warsaw 28 Nov G 30
Barcikowski, Others Attend G 30
Congress Concludes 30 Nov G 31
Price Increases for Alcoholic Drinks Outlined G 31
SLOWO POWSZECHNE Comments on Economic Reform [19 Nov] G 31
Coal Industry's Problems Viewed, Analyzed G 33
Obodowski Views Problems G 33
Coal Industry Analyzed G 33

Food Economy Council Discusses Agriculture G 34
Commentary on Current Agricultural Situation G 35

ROMANIA

SDUF Central Committee Holds Plenum 24 Nov H 1
National Council of Working People Holds Plenum H 1
Elections Held 24 Nov H 1
Ceausescu Address [SCINTEIA 25 Nov] H 2
Appeals for Peace H 5
Plenum Resolution 24 Nov [SCINTEIA 25 Nov] H 7
Ceausescu Speaks at Agriculture Council Plenum [SCINTEIA 25 Nov] H 10
International Religious Peace Meeting Held H 17
Addressed by Patriarch 26 Nov H 17
Interdenominational Meeting Ends H 17
Soviet Culture Delegation Visits Bucharest H 18
Cultural Protocol Signed 30 Nov H 18
Ceausescu Receives Demichev H 18
Ionita Receives USSR Water Resources Minister [SCINTEIA 25 Nov] H 19
Economic Cooperation Protocol With PRC Signed H 19
Polish Goods, Payments Protocol Signed 28 Nov H 19
Ceausescu Receives West Berlin Party Leader H 20

WARSAW PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS ARRIVE 30 NOV

AU301929 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic; Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Jozef Czyrek, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, arrived in Bucharest on November 30 to attend the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty participating states.

Upon arrival the guests were welcomed by Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Constantin Oancea and Gheorghe Dolgu, deputy ministers of foreign affairs, by other officals.

Present were also the ambassadors of the respective countries accredited to Romania.

CSSR'S URBAN DISCUSSES TRADE WITH CEMA NEIGHBORS

LD280028 Prague CTK in English 1727 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] Moscow, 27 Nov (CTK correspondent) -- Czechoslovak trade with Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member states is characterized especially by the high proportion of supplies of machines, which will amount to almost 67 per cent in 1985, industrial consumer goods and specialized production, Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Bohumil Urban has told CETEKA.

The trade with the Soviet Union is of key importance and represents more than a half of the total turnover with all CMEA members states, the minister added in his interview at the end of the 61st session of the CMEA Permanent Commission for Foreign Trade which ended here Friday.

Bohumil Urban stressed that the session approved measures to improve the conditions of service and supplies of spare parts, and discussed measures to increase the technical level and quality of the specialized production to exert pressure of foreign trade on the sphere of production.

Participants in the session exchanged opinions on the coordination of broadening trade contacts with the developing countries.

CEMA METALLURGY CONFERENCE OPENS IN BUDAPEST

LD241838 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Budapest, 24 Nov (MTI) -- The energy and environment section of the CMEA Standing Commission for Metallurgy is discussing the problems of energy saving metallurgical technologies and equipment at a four-day conference opened today in Dunaujvaros, central Hungary. The representatives of seven CMEA countries and Yugoslavia survey the implementation of cooperation programmes, and discuss mutual tasks ahead in energy saving.

The conferees are to study the energy saving processes introduced at the Dunai iron works, the results of the secondary utilization of the energy of smoke gas, the water purifiers and ore dust filters, as well as the economical and technological issues of spendings on devices protecting environment.

The section meeting of the CMEA Standing Commission for Metallurgy will conclude with signing an aide-memoire on Friday.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON CYPRIOT PRESIDENT'S VISIT

Zhivkov Dinner Toast 24 Nov

AU272105 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 81 p 2

[Toast proposed by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, at an official dinner in Sofia in honor of Spiros Kiprianou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, on 24 November 1981]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed Mrs Kiprianou, esteemed Cypriot guests, comrades,

I would like, above all, to express our joy at the first visit by the president of the Republic of Cyprus to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This fact in itself is sufficient to describe Mr Kiprianou's visit as a remarkable event in Bulgarian-Cypriot relations.

The friendly relations and feelings of affection between the peoples of Bulgaria and Cyprus can be traced back for many centuries, the State Council chairman stated. At least as far as I am concerned, there is no doubt that their roots are much deeper than we can presume. Obviously, the future will give us much more proof of the closeness and the relations of long standing between our two peoples. We are acquainted with and highly appreciate the history of Cyprus. This island has been a bridge in the Mediterranean for thousands of years. This bridge was crossed by the builders of a common civilization, since the Bulgarian land also is a cradle of ancient culture. It is by no means a coincidence that your country is named after the goddess of beauty and love -- Aphrodite. Is it not wonderful to be a citizen of a country whose poetic name is a symbol of beauty and love.

At the same time, however, Cyprus is the homeland of a freedom loving and courageous people, for beauty and love have always been worth fighting for, because without freedom there can be no beauty, no love, no future for man's irrevocable aspirations to live according to the laws of beauty and social harmony.

In 1960 the Bulgarian people greeted with the warmest feelings the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent state of the Cypriot people, Comrade Todor Zhivkov further stated. From the example of our own past we have learned to appreciate the other nations' efforts in the struggle for independence and state sovereignty.

There have never been and there are no controversial problems or contradictory interests between us. On the contrary, our bilateral relations are constantly built on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage. In the development of these relations, everyone will discover positive examples of communications in all fields -- in the political, economic and cultural sectors. Agreements have been signed, and we have exchanged useful visits of miniters, political and public figures and cultural leaders. The Bulgarian Government and people sincerely wish for an even more intensified and expanded development of all that has been achieved so far in our relations with Cyprus. The Bulgarian people sincerely wish to further develop and multiply the results of our relations. They sincerely search for and are implementing new opportunities in the diverse Bulgarian-Cypriot cooperation. The People's Republic of Bulgaria firmly adheres to the stand that this policy of cooperation is the only correct one, because it is the only one that is in conformity with the two peoples' interests and with the interest of the cause of peace in our area, Europe and the world.

The world is alarmed by the intentions and actions of the reactionary and warmongering forces to aggravate and complicate international relations, to fan crises and conflicts, to set one side against the other. These reactionary and warmongering forces, which we are well acquainted with, are creating real danger for peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean. All this demands that we find a just and durable solution for the Cyprus problem.

This Cyprus problem exists, but it is not the fault of the Cypriot people, the State Council chairman declared.

Our country has always thought that there is only one path toward the settlement of the Cyprus problem: the path of preserving the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as the nonaligned status of the Republic of Cyprus, through demilitarization of the island and observance of both the Cypriot Greeks and Cypriot Turks' interests. We are convinced that the Cypriot Greeks and the Cypriot Turks are both, regardless of the existing differences in their ethnic origins, linked to each other by a common historical fate, by common traditions and common interests. For this reason they have lived for centuries and they will still live for many centuries in understanding, in their united Cyprus. The People's Republic of Bulgaria in the past, and today, has always resolutely declared itself against any attempts to divide the island and to transform it into a military base for foreign and imperialist states.

We ascertain with satisfaction that our two countries' stands are similar or identical, not only as regards the development of bilateral relations, but also on certain international problems of importance, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out. He stated that first of all problems in our time is the preservation of world peace. In our nuclear century, this problem is becoming a life and death dilemma -- the alternative between life and death!

We rejoice that with the common efforts of all peace-loving forces in the world, a process of detente and cooperation grew throughout the seventies. Today, however, the militarist and reactionary circles of certain imperialist states are trying to obstruct this lofty process. They began a new arms race and are planning new weapons of mass destruction. They are threatening mankind with nuclear war.

We categorically declare ourselves against adventurism in international relations. Our country is of the opinion that controversial problems can be resolved not through confrontation, but through an open and constructive dialogue. This dialogue can lead to and produce positive results only if it is based on the principles of equal rights, equal security and mutual respect for the interests of all states. The threats of death and destruction are a relapse into the epoch of caveman barbarism and cannot serve as an argument at the end of the 20th century.

The Government and the people of Bulgaria welcome the agreement between the USSR and the United States for beginning negotiations on the limitation of nuclear armament in Europe. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is an active supporter of the consistent application of the principles and agreements contained in the Helsinki Final Act. We are in favor of successfully concluding the Madrid meeting, in favor of convening the international conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe and in favor of transforming our continent into a continent of peace and security.

On the geographical map, our two countries are not immediate neighbors. As regards the political and military strategic point of view, however, we are very close to each other. This is precisely why we have a vital interest and all reason to follow the political situation in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean, and not only to follow it but to do everything within our power for peace in our common area and for peace throughout the world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is waging a sincere, principled, consistent and constructive policy toward all its neighbors in the Balkan peninsula, as well as toward all states -- close and distant ones, Comrade Todor Zhivkov further declared. We have proved and will prove, in deeds and not only in words, we will give convincing proof of our peace-loving spirit and will devote all our efforts to the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of lasting peace and security, into a model of good neighborliness, understanding and cooperation.

The chairman of the State Council further pointed out the fact that the present international situation is complex, and that in this situation we are counting upon a sense of responsibility from every nation, in every statesman and politician, and among all citizens of our planet. With this sense of responsibility we have expressed our readiness to sign bilateral agreements with our neighboring countries. In our opinion, such agreements can include a code of good-neighborly relations and abstention from territorial claims, as well as the refusal to allow the territory of the contracting countries to be used for hostile goals and actions directed against each other.

Inspired by this sense of responsibility, we are in favor of further expanding and intensifying cooperation in the economic, scientific, cultural-educational and tourist sectors, as well as in the field of sports.

Guided by this sense of responsibility, we support the idea of transforming our common Balkan home into a zone free of nuclear weapons. We are convinced that any success in this respect will represent a step toward the improvement of the atmosphere in our comprehensive international life. We are ready to adopt specific actions, including holding a summit conference of Balkan state leaders in Sofia next year.

Guided by this sense of responsibility, we are also expressing our principled stand as regards the hotbed of tension in the Middle East. This stand is already well known.

We are meeting for the first time, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated. In a friendly exchange of opinions, however, we immediately found the path toward mutual understanding. This fact inspires us with the conviction that our first meeting will represent a considerable contribution to the further ascending development of friendship and mutual cooperation between Bulgaria and Cyprus. This also inspires our peoples with the conviction that, as throughout the centuries of the past, our two peoples, who have contributed to European civilization, will do everything in their power today as well to preserve this civilization from the attempts of those who want to destroy it, and will contribute to the future progress of this civilization.

Once again I express the satisfaction of the State Council, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people with your visit to our country. We express our satisfaction with the talks we have begun.

I ask you to convey to the people of Cyprus our most sincere wishes for happiness and prosperity.

In greeting the president of Cyprus and congratulating him on his award with the highest state decoration of the People's Republic of Bulgaria -- the "Stara Planina" Order -- Comrade Todor Zhivkov proposed a toast to the peaceful prosperity of the Republic of Cyprus; to friendship and cooperation between our two peoples; to peace and security; to cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and the world; to the health of the esteemed president and to the health of his wife, the very esteemed Mrs Kiprianou, as well as to the health of all those present.

Kiprianou Toast

AU251635 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Report on speech by Spiros Kiprianou, president of Cyprus, at 24 November Sofia dinner]

[Excerpt] In his speech Mr Spiros Kiprianou, president of Cyprus, pointed to the necessity of ensuring a stable peace. This peace, he said, can be achieved through peaceful means, by negotiations, without any interference of one country into the internal affairs of another, by mutually respecting of the states' interests.

With a view to achieving this it is necessary for the world to turn anew to the process of detente and not only to turn but to push it forward, for the arms race to be halted, a progress to be made towards the full disarmament, a step towards resolving the issues facing the world to be taken on the basis of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act.

Dwelling on the Cyprian issue, Mr Kiprianou said: "Our ambition is to convert the territory of Cyprus into a place of calm, peace and cooperation among all, who inhabit the island, to turn it into a bridge of peace and understanding among the three continents. All premises for achieving this are at hand -- provided an end to foreign interference is put. The Cyprian issue is an international matter of enormous dimensions. This is a problem of a violation of the UN Constituent Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. We indeed want to ensure unity of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, to remain a consolidated state".

He emphasized that it is not possible and not admissible, under any conditions whatsoever, to accept whatever tendency of dividing the island, that dividing the island will finally lead to its destruction in one form or another, and will lay the beginning of new vicissitudes with unforeseen consequences.

President Kiprianou continued: "But no matter how good the decision on the future internal structure of the Cyprian state can be, there cannot be any lasting peace nor permanent solution to the Cyprus issue unless the withdrawal of the foreign troops and the absolute demilitarization of the island are ensured and unless real guarantees, perhaps international guarantees under the auspices of the UN Security Council are not given".

Recalling the fact that a dialogue between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots has been on for quite a long time now and that it has not made any progress, he expressed his country's goodwill to resume the dialogue. At the same time Mr Kiprianou emphasized that the time has come for a greater international animation on the basis of the UN Charter and resolutions and the Final Act of Helsinki in order to find a solution to the Cyprus issue. He pointed out that the moment has come for the Cyprus issue to be pushed forward on the basis of the Soviet proposal for convening an international conference within the United Nations framework.

Cyprus' president emphasized that if conditions for real detente are set in the world, there is no doubt that problems as the Cyprus one can be solved easier. Therefore, he said, we support any effort aimed at reducing the tension and we believe that really the moment has come for a serious and efficient dialogue between the Soviet Union and the USA on curbing the armaments and establishing a climate suitable for detente, for promoting the cause of peace and peaceful settlement of international issues.

Emphasizing that Cyprus has joined the Non-Aligned Movement since its very founding, Mr Kiprianou said that it will continue to pursue this non-aligned foreign policy. He said: "And among those things that have to be consolidated, such as the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Cyprian state, her non-alignment should also be defended".

Dwelling on Bulgaro-Cyprian relations, Mr Spiros Kiprianou emphasized their very good development in all spheres. There are no problems between us. What exists is just the striving for developing the best relations possible and we will do our best in this respect, he added.

Departing Statement 24 Nov

AU271539 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA) -- According to Mr Spiros Kiprianou, his first visit to Bulgaria opens up a new phase in the relations between Bulgaria and Cyprus. "I hope that they will reach a very high level of development."

"The results from the talks are remarkable", he said before his departure today.

President Kiprianou stressed on the solidarity with the struggle of the Cyprian people expressed by Bulgarian side and by Mr Todor Zhivkov.

We discussed thoroughly the Cyprus issue and were unanimous in reaching the conclusion that Cyprus' full independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned policy which is of great importance should be ensured, he said. We also made the conclusion that those premises which will offer the whole Cyprian people, both Greeks and Turks, the possibility to live and work together should be ensured. This could be achieved only through respecting the UN principles.

Mr Spiros Kiprianou stressed that he backs up any idea which will contribute to the reduction of the tension in the world.

"We must not allow for a new world war to break, a war which under the present conditions will not be an ordinary one but an annihilation of mankind. We must take it that the war belongs to the past, and all the world differences should be resolved through peaceful means. On this matter we reached a full unanimity of views with Mr Todor Zhivkov", he said.

Mr Kiprianou laid emphasis on the fact that he attaches particular importance to the Madrid meeting which is a continuation of the conference in Helsinki.

Communique Released

NC272150 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek 1500 GMT 27 Nov 81

["Text" of joint communique issued at end of Cypriot President Kiprianou's visit to Bulgaria 24-27 November 1981]

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the president of the Republic of Cyprus, Spiros Kiprianou, paid an official friendly visit to Bulgaria from 24 to 27 November 1981. The distinguished guest visited Sofia and Varna and was briefed on the political, economic and cultural aspects of life in Bulgaria.

The leaders of the two countries had talks which were held in an atmosphere of understanding and mutual respect. They reviewed bilateral relations and prospects for their further development; they also exchanged views on present international problems of mutual interest.

The talks were attended, on the Bulgaria side by: Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Milko Balev, chief of the State Council chairman's office; Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Atanas Ginev, first deputy minister of foreign trade; Ivan Ganev, ambassador, chief of [the third] department at the Foreign Ministry; and Bocho Bochev, Bulgarian ambassador to Cyprus. On the Cypriot side, the talks were attended by: Nikos Rolandhis, minister of foreign affairs; Yeoryios Pelayias, director general of the Foreign Ministry; Dhimos Khatzimiltis, Cypriot ambassador to Bulgaria; and Kharis Vovidhis, director of the president's office.

After noting with satisfaction that the relations between Bulgaria and Cyprus have developed positively, State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and President Kiprianou expressed their joint wish for further consolidation and strengthening of these relations on a long-term basis of mutual interest. The two leaders reaffirmed their determination to contribute toward the future consolidation and expansion of contacts between the governments, parliaments and the political, business and cultural quarters of the two countries which play a positive role in the favorable development of cooperation between Bulgaria and Cyprus.

The two parties expressed satisfaction with the present development of their economic relations and, at the same time, noted that there exist possibilities to expand these relations in many fields, particularly in trade, industrial cooperation, agriculture, transport and so forth. Consequently, they agreed to instruct the pertinent authorities of their countries to take measures and exert joint efforts in this direction.

After stressing the great significance of cooperation in the cultural field for better familiarization and rapprochement between the peoples of Bulgaria and Cyprus, the two leaders expressed satisfaction for the continued upward development of this cooperation and stressed their desire to further encourage it. State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov expressed gratitude for the cooperation of the Cypriot official authorities and society for the commemoration in Cyprus of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state's establishment as well as for the familiarization of the Cypriot people with the history, culture and contemporary development of Bulgaria.

The two leaders exchanged views on some current international problems and noted with satisfaction the coincidence or similarity of their views. State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and President Spiros Kiprianou expressed deep concern over the deterioration of international situation. They stressed their countries' determination to support every effort to preserve detente and to oppose the arms race. They believe that, in the present complicated international atmosphere, it is necessary for mankind to pass from tension and confrontation over to a dialogue on all contentious issues in international relations with mutual recognition of every country's interests.

The two sides affirmed their desire to exert every effort in safeguarding peace and strengthening the process of detente in Europe, for the successful implementation of the principles and agreements stressed in the Helsinki Final Act. In this connection, they expressed hope that the Madrid conference will end successfully, safeguarding the continuation of the process of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe as well as contributing to the convocation of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

The two leaders stood in favor of adopting effective measures for disarmament on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security. They welcomed the agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the United States to begin negotiations on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe.

Bulgarian State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov was briefed by Cypriot President Spiros Kiprianou on the latest developments in the Cyprus problem. The two leaders noted with concern the lack of progress in the efforts to achieve a just and lasting solution of the problem. They expressed regrets because the UN resolutions and declarations by the nonaligned world on the Cypriot problem have not yet been implemented, and they called for their quick implementation. They also called for an end to all foreign intervention in Cyprus. State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and President Spiros Kiprianou believe that a just and lasting solution to the benefit of the Cypriot people as a whole can only be sought in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions on Cyprus and the Helsinki Final Act on the basis of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and nonalignment of Cyprus as well as the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all Cypriots.

They further expressed the conviction that the time has come for the convocation of representative international conference, within the UN framework, which will open the road toward accomplishing a peaceful solution to the Cypriot problem. The two leaders stressed that Cyprus' complete demilitarization and disarmament would be in the interest not only of the Cypriot people but also in the interest of the cause of peace, security and stability in the sensitive eastern Mediterranean region. State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov reaffirmed Bulgaria's continued support for the efforts of the Cypriot Government and people, as well as for all other efforts, directed toward achieving a just, peaceful and lasting solution of the problem.

After noting the positive results in relations among the Balkan states, the two leaders stood in favor of improving the climate of good neighborliness, understanding and cooperation toward mutual benefit in the area. In this conncection, they stressed the idea for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, a fact which would respond to the interests of all Balkan people and the people of Europe and the whole world. The two sides expressed their support for initiatives to convert the Mediterranean into a zone of lasting peace and cooperation.

The two leaders expressed concern over the continuing dangerous situation in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their countries' position that a just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem can be achieved only with the Israeli withdrawal from Arab lands which were occupied in 1967, restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine -- including the right to establish their own independent state -- and with guaranteeing the security of all countries in the region. They also stood in favor of convening an international conference on this problem with the participation of all countries concerned, including the PLO -- the only legal representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

The two leaders expressed their high appreciation for the role of the nonaligned countries in safeguarding peace and security and in developing cooperation among all countries in the world.

The two parties expressed their support for the struggle of developing countries toward consolidating their independence and national sovereignty and liquidating all forms of colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and President Spiros Kiprianou expressed the conviction that their meeting will give a considerable impetus to further expanding cooperation between Bulgaria and Cyprus and that it will contribute to the cause of peace and security in Europe and the world.

President Spiros Kiprianou extended a cordial invitation to State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov to pay an official friendly visit to Cyprus. The invitation was accepted with pleasure and it was agreed that the exact date of the visit be set through diplomatic channels.

FURTHER IMPORTS OF CONSUMER GOODS DISCUSSED

AU302103 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] At a joint meeting of the Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation and the Commission on the Standard of Living of the Council of Ministers, the work on implementing the import and exchange of consumer goods with the socialist and other countries, as well as with fraternal okrugs and cities, was discussed. The further expansion of business relations with foreign companies in organizing the production of new products, with a view toward diversifying and enriching the domestic market, was also discussed. It was discovered that during recent years, especially after the Ruse conference, the foreign economic activity, in accordance with the instructions of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, is every more fully contributing to better satisfying the needs of the working people for various high quality consumer goods. Simultaneously, the leaderships of some ministries, departments and economic organizations which are not sufficiently implementing their obligations in this area have been called to attention.

In accordance with the high requirements set at the 12th BCP Congress, measures on further expanding and improving this activity have been adopted so that it contribute even more to supplying the domestic market with goods needed by the population.

ZHIVKOV, LEADERS COMMISSION PROJECTS IN SHUMEN

AU282007 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Summary] A monument devoted to the foundation of Bulgaria was unveiled at the Ilchov Bair site near Shumen today. "Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, and Comrades Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev and Chudomir Aleksandrov arrived in Shumen today to attend the celebrations and the commissioning of some okrug projects."

After delivering a speech at the local theater in Shumen and unveiling the monument, Todor Zhivkov met the young collective for processing aluminium at the Stamen Stamenov combine, and commissioned this large project of the Bulgarian nonferrous industry. Todor Zhivkov and those accompanying him later visited the old capital of Pliska and acquainted themselves with the restoration works there.

Pencho Kubadinski opened a museum in Preslav, and with Todor Zhivkov and the other officials visited some of the archeological restorations works. Petur Tanchev opened the okrug library and the okrug history museum in Shumen, and Stanko Todorov commissioned the expansion section of the local thermoelectric power station. "Following this, a festive concert was performed at the renovated Vasil Drumev Theater."

ZHIVKOV VISITS YOUTH EXHIBITION IN PLOVDIV 27 NOV

Youths' Achievements Noted

AU271440 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Summary] "Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, today visited the 11th exhibition of the youth scientific-technical achievements in Plovdiv. He was accompanied by Grisha Filipov, Ognyan Doynov, Petur Dyulgerov, Georgi Yordanov, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhavlov, Milko Balev and Chudomir Aleksandrov."

Comrade Todor Zhivkov and those accompanying him were welcomed by Georgi Tanev, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Ivan Panev, first secretary of Plovdiv Okrug Party Committee; and by Stoyan Koshulev, chairman of the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee.

Meeting With Politburo Members

AU272031 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Excerpts] Following the visit to the youth exhibition in Plovdiv, a meeting of members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with the first-rankers and the most active members of the movement for technical and scientific creativity of youth was held at the Ministry of Foreign Trade (?exhibit).

The meeting was opened and chaired by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. He emphasized the major importance of this youth movement and pointed out that the main attention of youth creativity should be aimed at becoming an advanced movement of scientific-technical experience, at mastering and implementing the world scientific-technical and organizational achievements, and at stabilizing the socialist organization of labor. Georgie Tanev, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, spoke about the country's youth achievements at the 11th exhibition of the movement.

At the instruction of the BCP Central Committee, Ognyan Doynov made certain observations and voiced certain ideas.

HUSAK MEETS WITH GDR'S HONECKER 30 NOV

Details of Talks

LD301844 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] The talks between Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, opened in Prague Castle today.

Also present at the talks for the Czechoslovak side was Lubomir Strougal, Vasil Bilak, Milos Jakes, Vaclav Hula, Vratislav Vajnar and Michal Stefanak; present for the GDR side were Willy Stoph, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Sieber, Gerhard Weiss and Helmut Ziebart. The representatives of the two countries in formed each other about the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 10th SED Congress and about the results achieved by both sides in the construction of an advanced socialist society. They underlined that the successful socialist construction in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the GDR is based on a consistent and creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism and an indestructible friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. They highly praised the standards achieved so far in the mutual relations and the all-round cooperation between the two fraternal parties and countries ans assessed the further possibilities of their all round development.

Also on the agenda of the talks were the topical questions of the international situation, and international communist and workers' movement and the foreign policy of the two states. Gustav Husak and Erich Honecker emphasized that the key task in this sphere is the joint struggle for peace, detente and disarmament. In this context, they highly praised the results of the visit of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev to the FRG.

The deliberations, which took place in a friendly and comradely atmosphere were characterized by a complete identity of views on all questions.

Further on Talks

LD302034 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Prague, 30 Nov (ADN) -- This afternoon, the two leading representatives of the GDR and CSSR began their official talks. During their meeting at Prague Castle they dealt with their joint tasks in further stregnthening socialism in the interests of the peoples of both neighboring socialist countries and in consolidating peace and international security.

Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak briefed each other on the workers' achievements in implementing the decisions of the 10th SED and 16th CPCZ Congresses.

They noted that the agreements concluded during their June 1979 meeting in Dresden had been successfully fulfilled by both sides. The treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, which was concluded between the two states in 1977, is being successfully implemented in all its parts. The GDR-CSSR economic relations, which are developing dynamically, have reached a qualitatively high level. The intensification of specialization and cooperation in research and production, in particular, contributes to their stability and consistency. The long-term coordination of the two countries' economic plans has proved itself in practice.

Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak agreed that they would, in the very near future, begin discussing basic, selected tasks in the fields of science and technology, investments and production cooperation for the period after 1985.

In view of the current international situation, the two party leaders and statesmen stressed that in the struggle to strengthen socialism and consolidate peace and in the struggle for international detente and disarmament, a firm unity and solidarity as well as a coordinated approach by the states of the socialist community are of decisive importance. Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak condemned the aggressive imperialist circles' arms race policy and their policy of confrontation. They regard consolidating world peace and averting the threat of a thermonuclear war as the most important task at present. They paid tribute in this respect to the results of the meeting between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, L.I. Brezhnev, and the federal chancellor of the FRG, H. Schmidt, as a reflection of the consistent efforts of the Soviet Union to continue to bring to life the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and to implement real steps to overcome the threat of a nuclear war.

The meeting, which is being held in a fraternal cordial atmosphere, will be continued on Tuesday.

Dinner Honors Honecker

LD302206 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Today in Prague Castle, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, gave a festive dinner in honor of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. The dinner was attended by Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal and other CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak and Jozef Lenart; CPCZ Central Committee Secretaries Mikulas Beno, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Josef Havlin, Frantisek Pitra and Jindrich Polednik; CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat member Marie Kabrhelova; CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission Chairman Miroslav Capka.

The guests also included SED Central Committee Politburo members Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Guenter Mittag, secretary of the party Central Committee; SED Central Committee members Guenter Sieber, head of the SED International Department, and Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and also Helmut Ziebert, GDR ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Comrades Gustav Husak and Erick Honecker delivered toasts at the dinner.

FOJTIK RECEIVES VISITING CPSU'S ZAMYATIN

LD302252 Prague CTK in English 1756 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Prague, 30 Nov (CTK) -- Monday, Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jan Fojtik received here Leonid Zamyatin, head of a Soviet Communist Party Central Committee department, who is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia, at the invitation of the Czechoslovak party Central Committee. Questions of the further development of cooperation in the sphere of propaganda were discussed during their meeting.

KUCERA HOLDS TALKS WITH POLAND'S KOWALCZYK 24-25 NOV

Subject of Talks

AU301246 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Nov 81 p 2

[CTK report in the column "International Contacts"]

[Text] On Tuesday Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, arrived in Prague at the invitation of Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

During the 2-day visit, the two representatives will conduct talks, especially, on the achieved results and prospects of the traditional cooperation between the two friendly political parties in the interest of strengthening the socialist community and world peace.

Departure of Kowalczyk

AU301248 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Nov 81 p 8

[CTK report in the column "International Contacts"]

[Text] Yesterday E. Kowalczyk, chairman of the Central Committee of the Polish Democratic Party and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, and his entourage left Prague for Warsaw. He paid a 2-day visit to the CSSR at the invitation of B. Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. During their talks they stressed the share of their two friendly parties in the tasks of building socialism in their countries and their participation in the struggle for progress and world peace.

POLISH SOLIDARITY ACTIONS ANALYZED, CRITICIZED

Rural Solidarity: 'Sabotage'

AU301535 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov 81 p 7

[Warsaw correspondent Jan Lipavsky commentary: "They Are Imposing Ultimatum on the State; So-Called Rural Solidarity's Acts of Sabotage"]

[Text] Since Monday, 23 November, private farmers associated in the Rural "Solidarity" have been occupying public buildings in several parts of the country "in protest" against the government's alleged failure to fulfill the agreements of Ustrzyk, Rzeszow and Bydgoszcz. At the same time, on the pages of TRYBUNA LUDU, the deputy minister of agriculture and food industry furnishes evidence that this is not true. The only explanation of the farmers' strike is thus that those "protest actions" are part of "Solidarity's" broadly based campaign aimed at constantly maintaining tension in the country, vilifying the government and obstructing its measures to overcome the crisis.

A more profound glance at the situation in agriculture shows that people in [rural] "Solidarity" are not so much interested in improved supplies of industrial goods and essential technology to agriculture as in pursuing political goals, in coordination with the "Solidarity" campaign. This campaign has now also assumed the form of a student strike, and that not only at university-level schools, but also at secondary and in some instances even at primary schools. Rural "Solidarity" threatens that when its demands are not met, it will occupy additional public buildings in various parts of Poland in the days to come.

What are "Solidarity's" actual aims? It categorically demands that the existence of private farms be enshrined forever in the Polish Constitution. Some segments of this organization even demand the liquidation of the socialized sector, whose land and inventory should in their view be allotted to farmers. All these demands are based on a single condition: Either we get everything we ask or don't wait for our fulfillment of deliveries. Many farmers simply refuse to sell their products to the state, even though they have contractually committed themselves to do so. And how do they acquire money essential to purchase industrial products? Through other channels: by selling on the black or free market. The authorities have raised the procurement prices to encourage farmers to fulfill the contractual deliveries, but it has not helped much.

For example, this year the government has already twice raised the procurement prices for meat. In November procurement has become somewhat more lively yet the procured quantity of meat is far from enough to fully cover the ration coupons.

Jan Kulaj, chairman of rural "Solidarity," publicly unmasked his policy of sabotage when he declared: "In the next few months Polish society will be facing the threat of starvation." However, this is at gross variance with the truth. The overall production of animal products is not in the least below that of 1979 or 1980.

The weekly RZECZYWISTOSC has written: "Sharp political struggle always leads, in every system, to a disorientation of social life, particularly when it assumes the form of a struggle for power and a change of the social system. It can be deduced from that, of which we are witnesses in Poland today, that this sharp political struggle has not circumvented the rural areas. It is not the small but the rich farmer, who enjoyed so much the favor of the former party and state leadership (which smoothed the way for him through subsidies and credits), that leads rural "Solidarity" today and arrogates for himself the right to manipulate the rural poor. The illusions about a classless society preached prior to 1980 and the neglect for a socialist reconstruction of the rural areas have proved to be tragic mistakes."

'Tumultuous Poland': Part One

AU271431 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Nov 81 p 6

[First installment of Milan Jelinek's series "In Tumultuous Poland": "The Perpetrators of Disruption"]

[Text] The ancient hall with a decorative inlay of dark wood, the marvelous gilded carvings on the ceiling and the columns made of Baltic oak echo clamor, arguments, accusations, the pounding of fists on the lectern -- all the noise generated by a crowd of people. They -- "Solidarity's" National Commission, the highest body of the so-called independent trade unions -- sit in three rows behind long tables of the old Gdansk Town Hall. They are just rescinding a resolution adopted 2 hours ago. At a table, members of the commission are being asked what the subject of the current vote is. A delegate from Wroclaw has drowsed off with his head on the table....

The only thing that is silent in the hall are the oil paintings on the walls where the town's former dignitaries, wearing wigs, stare like corpses into the distance. Suddenly silence sets in -- clergymen from the St Barbara Church have arrived to officiate at a mass. Masses, ostentatious religious rituals, are just as inseparable from 'Solidarity' as open attacks on the government and socialism and threatening the party and communists. Having recited a prayer on Christian love and good attitude to people, they start making politics, to be more precise: counterrevolution.

Yes, all the well-known 'Solidarity' leaders are sitting in this hall made of black wood -- powerful bosses, champions of demagogical rhetorics, even Mr Marian Jurczyk. The words uttered by this ruler of the influential 'Solidarity' organization in Szczecin have made their rounds throughout Poland. Some people were shocked, quite a few protested, many people were frightened and there were enough of those who enthusiastically applauded.

The tape bears witness to a high-pitched voice filled with hatred as it proclaims: "The time of pampering has ended, let them scream if they want to, we must take no interest in it... it might be necessary to build gallows for some people and to hang them. In my view, it would do no harm if we had already built a few gallows."

It was to be expected that the National Commission would, perhaps, discuss Jurczyk's speech. After all it was an open appeal calling for terror and bloodshed; it was the first time that an important 'Solidarity' leader had formulated with such candor the goals and the methods of struggle. This assumption proved to be wrong. The commission ruled that Mr Jurczyk expressed his "personal opinion," that it has not been adopted as an official resolution and that therefore, nothing has happened, in fact. This is derision and an irrefutable evidence of the sentiments and views prevailing in the 'Solidarity' leadership.

There was only one voice of criticism: In his zeal, Jurczyk allowed himself antisemetic remarks. It would allegedly be good if he explained this. Jurczyk has said nothing. There was no need. He is going around with a sc rnful look and has become even more popular in "Solidarity". Some day he will, perhaps, be famous because he was the first to publicly hoist the bloody banner of battle....

"A Democratic Process"

The state prosecutor has initiated investigation of the Jurczyk affair but when you ask "Solidarity" functionaries whether anything will happen to the Szczecin boss, they only laugh. And representatives of government bodies shrug their shoulders in resignation and confirm -- no, he will not be prosecuted, "the political situation is not opportune." Half-hearted measures are the worst measures that can be taken, they are empty gestures and express weakness. And in the old City Hall of Gdansk the government is only the target of cynical jokes.

Before I entered the hall "Solidarity's" press spokesman Marek Brunne, a slim intellectual, a scientist, considered it necessary to confide to me in polished English: "From time to time a delegate gets up and says -- let us overthrow the government, down with communists. Do not take it seriously, they do not mean it. This is a democratic process which we still must learn."

Words about gallows, hanging people, antistate coups, and driving communists out of enterprises are a school of democracy? What then, in fact, do the "Solidarity" bosses take seriously? When Bujak, chairman of the Warsaw organization, proposes at the commission's session strikes in the Polish defense industry and its paralyzation, when the commission officially contemplates whether the time is not ripe to disperse party organizations in factories, mines and steel mills and whether the party committees should not be set outside the gates, this is also a joke that should not be taken seriously?

It is interesting that the sessions are rarely attended by the leading functionaries, those who actually rule "Solidarity". Rulewski, Gsiazda, Walesa, Bujak and others who are pulling the strings of power sit and engage in consultations elsewhere. They come to the meetings only with ready-made resolutions. There is a great deal they could discuss: the situation in Zyrardow, for example.

The entire industry in the city is paralyzed. The textile and engineering factories stand still. "Solidarity" has staged a strike. It is terribly simple in present Poland to find reasons for a strike. Better supplies, higher wages, the showers do not work or one dislikes the director's face, and the factory wheels are already coming to a halt. All demands must be met, immediately, to the last point. Otherwise one does not work.

A picket line with bands in national colors on their sleeves meets us at city limits. They stretch out their callous hands and complain. The supplies are bad, you do not get anything even with ration coupons, apart from bread, perhaps. There is no meat. At least they have started to deliver to the stores round sausages. "Solidarity" has commanded that we must strike and force the government to bring food.

"How can the government give what it does not have? There is no food, all over Poland. When people do not work, the state cannot provide anything." This simple logical question embarrasses them. One can see that they have been already pondering it, that they are not hearing it for the first time. The small bearded spokesman of the picket line attempts a counterattack. "The government always has something. Let it borrow. How comes that there is nothing I can buy with the money I make?"

He realizes that he is not right. He talks nonsense but these people are nervous, strained, do not know which way to turn. The situation is getting worse from day to day, the lines are becoming longer and longer, they have children and families. Therefore, I suppress the question whether it is honest that they want money for guarding the closed gates of factories.

"Solidarity's" Demagoguery

They cannot answer because they themselves are groping in the dark. "Go to the weaving mill, Leszek will come there, he will explain everything." "Solidarity" Chairman Lech Walesa himself will speak in Zyrardow, and as I found out later, not by coincidence.

On corners and in shopwindows are numerous posters. The same picture, with only one slogan on them which is at the same time immensely telling. A broken plate with cutlery thrown on it and a concise text: This is the result of anarchy and strikes. "Solidarity" storm troops are patrolling the town, trying to tear the posters down. The posters reapper overnight. This shows that in Zyrardow there are not only communists but also patriots, honest, sensible people who are combatting "Solidarity's" strike madness, the plan for Polish society's catastrophe. The posters are helping to clear hot heads. The working people of Zyrardow are rebelling. They want an end to the strikes and to go to work.

The local "Solidarity" leadership is afraid that it will not master the situation, and calls in from Gdansk Lech Walesa, speaker of the heaviest calibre.

This little man with a thick drooping moustache makes a strange impression. Longish brown hair, exemplarily divided in the middle, simply dressed, with the inevitable little emblem of Virgin Mary of Czestochowa on his lapel. He is a born speaker. He is a master at composing speeches, he raises or lowers his voice as necessary, poses questions to the crowd or to himself and immediately answers them, he speaks the intelligible tongue of workers, he knows how to make speech more colorful with a joke. He does not shout or scream, his voice is smooth and persuasive.

You are not going to end the strike, are you? If you persevere, you will win. The whole of Poland is looking to you, therefore your Leszek has come here. You are not alone. The waterfall of speech continues. The crowd listens and believes.

Promises come easy to the "Solidarity" chairman. He will not have to fulfill these promises, that is what the government is for. He plays on the strings of false patriotism, raises his listeners' feeling of importance, the majority of them applaud, if Walesa says it must be the truth.

There are questions, and the cameras of the three largest American television companies with numerous crews, which arrived with Walesa and constitute his permanent entourage, focus on the master who is in command of the meeting. They know that the moment has come when Walesa will say most.

How They Deceive People

Why are there no foodstuffs? I am not the government, ask the communists, the speaker laughs. Why does "Solidarity" not join the government? That is the battle cry and Walesa choses an interesting formulation: His organization, allegedly, has not yet the experience in governing the state, it must learn. However, in Warsaw they must comprehend that the government is there to serve "Solidarity".

Cleverly thought out, that. The government, that is, the socialist state bears the responsibility. "Solidarity" cannot be blamed for anything, it only strikes, subverts the state, but it is the government alone that is responsible for the situation, for the state of society. The government will be picking up the pieces broken by "Solidarity" till it has no strength left to lift yet another little broken piece, and then the time will come, the moment which the creators of disruption have been waiting so anxiously for.

It took a while before Walesa said that terrible sentence, for which the American cameras might have been waiting. There was a question about what he had to say about the desecration of the graves of fallen Soviet soldiers in Poland. He does not agree with it, even condemns it as unnecessary, but in the end he says -- let us realize that a living enemy is worse than a dead enemy. That was the only answer of his to which the majority of the people did not applaud. They stood silent, when assent came it came from an individual here and there or from a small crowd.

Later in Warsaw and Gdansk, they were telling me that Walesa is not usually like that, that in Zyrardow he "derailed," that those words just slipped out. What is one to think about that?

In the end, the anthem was sung, "Solidarity" is whipping up nationalist passions, in the yard of the weaving mill there is a huge altar overflowing with flowers and color print of Jesus on it, and outside, on the factory wall, a scratched, neglected plaque to Soviet tank crews who gave their lives when liberating the town.

People are leaving, "Solidarity" functionaries are spreading whispered propaganda that the government has warehouses full of foodstuffs, but will open them only if the strike continues. A nonsense is superimposed on a lie, people are afraid, angry.

Outside the town, in the fields, children are swinging whips driving horses, father pushes the plow, at gasoline pumps hundreds of cars are waiting in vain, women are getting ready to go to join lines after midnight and in Zyrardow and 60 other places the strike is on.

No one counts any longer the hundreds of millions of wasted zlotys, in factories lights are on, in Zyrardow alone 120 tons of coal daily goes up the chimney so that the "Solidarity" patrols guarding the factories can be warm, and at the same time a plant manufacturing conveyor belts, without which miners in shafts cannot produce coal, stands still. A crazy merry-go-round.

Rightwingers' 'Satisfaction'

AU281008 Prague TRIBUNA No 46 in Czech 18 Nov 81 p 6

[Letter by reader Jaroslav Sida from Brno: "What Next?"]

[Text] The situation in Poland has been serious for so many months now that it cannot leave anyone in peace, and even less us, the friends of the Polish People's Republic. After all, we are all interested in socialism strengthening its positions, in the individual countries of the socialist community achieving further successes instead of backsliding. The endeavor of some representatives of the state and the PZPR to guide the country out of its political and economic crisis has been without success thus far, and a person is not really surprised that honest communists in the Polish People's Republic are calling for the establishment of order and discipline. After all, this doing nothing only deepens worries. And no workers and his family can eat the words which the so-called Solidarity employs to demagogically push its views through.

We know already what the so-called Solidarity is after. Its rally [sraz], which ended some time ago, revealed that clearly: Anticommunism, anti-Sovietism and support for the country's counterrevolutionary forces, which are waging a campaign against everything that is socialist. They can do all this with impunity, the state power bodies take action only when their activity literally hits one in the eye. Otherwise, nothing doing. At the same time, what is involved is clearly an attempt to grab power and remove people's government....

Many fellow workers and fellow citizens in our country follow everything that is going on in Poland, and shake their heads with disbelief. How much longer will this situation continue? There can be no doubt at all that the extremists in the so-called Solidarity have succeeded in exploiting the errors and shortcomings of the former PZPR and state leadership in order to perfectly disorient the working people and winning them partially over to their side. They are misusing every weak moment of the current state leadership to assert their positions. This is clearly shown in the various, quite illogical, strike actions: A strike to increase the sales of foodstuffs, which benefited no one because it is being struck. A strike against the director of an enterprise because "Solidarity" does not like that he respects the state plan and insists that people come to work. A strike because the prices of cigarettes and other tobacco products were increased.

Wives of miners squeal that they are cold at home. But miners are striking because they want -- who knows what they actually want or do not want.

In my opinion, these errors could have been prevented, had the Leninist principles on management of the state and socialist society been implemented.

The situation in Poland is a great lesson also for us. Among other things, it is also in that respect that the party organizations must pay attention to and draw the attention of higher agencies early enough to problems and shortcomings at workplaces, so that they can be resolved in a suitable manner. After all, history teaches us that where the party does not work, there the class enemy works instead. And this must never happen. Such an attempt was made here in 1968. Fortunately, it did not succeed.

The lesson from the crisis development of the 1968-69 period is still valid to its full extent, and should be read also by those economic and ranking personnel who approach the fulfillment of economic tasks in the old way and are not fulfilling the state plan: because this also opens up scope for the activity of the class enemy. By the way, the rightwing in our country is rubbing its hands with satisfaction. If things are going so well in Poland, perhaps once...and that once must never occur. Let us be principled in our party work....

RUDE PRAVO SCORES 'BRIGHT STAR' MANEUVERS

AU301504 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov 81 p 7

[Milan Jelinek commentary in the column "Notes": "Rehearsal for 'Limited Warfare'"]

[Text] The joint military exercise of American and Egyptian armies in Egypt has ended. The operation Bright Star has been the greatest demonstration of American military strength in the Middle East since World War II. This fact says a lot in itself....

Paratroopers from the 82d Airborne Division, an elite and most combat ready unit that forms the backbone of the so-called Rapid Deployment Force -- the United States' military formation designated as the main instrument for implementing the "limited warfare" doctrine -- descended on the Egyptian desert. Combat actions drawn up by American strategists for the Middle East were being rehearsed. And American instructors were trying hard to teach the army of the Egyptian regime as much as possible, because Reagan's administration is in a hurry.

The sitaution in this strategically important part of the world is not developing as envisaged by the United States: American diplomacy has drifted with the parcel of Camp David Accords into a blind alley; and Washington has increasingly palpable conflicts with its allies, Israel as well as the conservative Arab states.

The United States is preparing itself. It is testing how long it takes to transport the masses of intervention troops overseas, and is trying to speedily cement military cooperation with Egypt, which still pursues the policy of As-Sadat's legacy -- the policy of a lackey of American interests.

The maneuvers have been a target of sharp ciriticism in the Arab world. Progressive governments justly fear that an aggression against them is being prepared and even regimes with a pro-American orientation note that the increasingly frequent presence of American warmongers in the Middle East may result in a marked deterioration of the already tense situation. The nations of this region have already gone through too much war suffering to watch passively and in silence rehearsals of war games, of military operations of unprecedented dimensions in their neighborhood, on the threshold of their own house.

U.S. ACCUSED OF 'IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION'

AU301456 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Nov 81 p 6

[Article by Washington correspondent Dusan Rovensky: "Misinformation, Lies, Slanders; the United States Is Reinforcing Ideological Subversion"]

[Excerpts] The United States is reinforcing its ideological subversion against socialist countries. For this subversive activity, it has earmarked much higher sums than in the past, is putting into operation new radio transmitters and integrates far more than up to now the CIA and other espionage centers in this activity. In August a new plan for reinforcing propaganda against the socialist countries was submitted to the National Security Council and President Reagan.

Part and parcel of the anticommunist campaign are attempts to destabilize the situation in individual socialist countries, exploit the situation in Poland and reinforce subversive actions directed against Cuba. A new transmitter located in Florida is to become the instrument of the United States' subversive activity in the entire Caribbean.

According to a plan that has been approved by the highest U.S. agencies, including the President and the National Security Council, the management of ideological subversion has been closely combined with the CIA's subversive activity. A confidential memorandum issued by USICA [U.S. International Communications Agency] (the central agency in charge of propaganda activity abroad) on 5 November states that in charge of operative management will be an "intergovernmental agency" headed by Charles Z. Wick, one of R. Reagan's close collaborators. On 23 October, at a meeting of the committee of the Association for Foreign Political Issues, Wick said: "We are in a state of war." This is how this man, who is known for his intimate contacts with the White House, views the mission of the agency he supervises, an agency that claims to be interested in "improving relations among states."

The White House concept of "relations among states" with different social systems is certainly not without interest. The Washington POST has now leaked that "the top circles in Reagan's administration and especially the President himself recall with nostalgia the time of Truman and Eisenhower and the years of the cold war."

The aim of those who are behind the subversive campaign is a new "cold war." And what are their main instruments: Misinformation, lies and slander. According to internal directives, the United States is to be presented to the international public as a "country striving for peace, a country that is sincerely interested in arms limitation talks." It sounds like a bad joke but this is really how those pulling the strings of American foreign propaganda envisage their "information activity," irrespective of the existing plans for "limited nuclear war" or "demonstrative nuclear strike."

Yes, that which is now being set in motion in the United States is an apparatus for the worst misinformation. Misinformation and deception of world public opinion is served by miscellaneous lies. One of them is the alleged presence of Cuban troops in Nicaragua. Another such lie, repeated again and again not only by information media but also by spokesmen for the U.S. State Department, is the alleged use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Laos. There are also other kinds of misinformation, aimed at encouraging antisocialist forces in Poland, weakening relations between countries of the socialist community and the like. However, stronger than any misinformation is the truth, which will ultimately assert itself, no matter how cunning the lies may be.

Charles Z. Wick declared that his agency, USICA, is in a "state of war." Similar directives were received by the Voice of America, American cultural centers abroad and U.S. embassies. The present step of the Reagan administration, taken after a number of steps that have worsened international relations in the political sphere, thus means only one thing -- a purposeful orientation on reinforcing ideological subversion against socialist countries, which is at sharp variance with the development of peaceful cooperation among countries with different social systems.

SPEECHES AT THIRD SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Honecker Report 19 Nov

AU250955 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 81 pp 3-6

[From the report of the Politburo to the plenum of the Third SED Central Committee, submitted by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, on 19 November]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

In assessing the problems facing us today we can proceed from the premise that the decisions of the 10th SED Congress have met with the full approval and support of the people. The domestic and foreign policy of our party corresponds profoundly with the interests of our people since it serves in every respect the safeguarding of peace and the improvement of material and cultural living standards.

These objectives have from the start been the main content of our party's policy. This policy has made it possible to fundamentally refashion the social conditions in our country since the foundation of the GDR 32 years ago. As noted by the 10th SED Congress this has become particularly evident during the past 10 years. This affects all aspects of life and manifests itself especially in the upsurge of our national economy and the successful implementation of our social policy.

The unity of economic and social policy has proved to be a tremendous driving force for the dynamism that has characterized the development of the first worker-peasant state on German soil over the last 10 years. This was, as we all know, favored by a number of factors. This development took place -- in a time in which our alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community was lifted to a new level,

-- During a period of relative easing of tensions in the international arena, above all in Europe,

-- In a time in which our party turned its face more toward the working masses.

For me these are the most important aspects which we must not ignore when evaluating the present tasks, those tasks which we have to discuss at the third meeting of the Central Committee.

Our Policy Takes Into Account the Changed World Situation

The further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR in accordance with the decisions of the 10th congress in political, economic and intellectual-cultural respects, the guaranteeing of the dynamism of our national economic development and the implementation of our sociopolitical ideas cannot be regarded as detached from the international situation, from its enormous aggravation which is becoming increasingly apparent every day, from the fact that world peace has not been more severely threatened since the end of World War II than it is now. The causes for this are well-known. It would be unnecessary to mention them on this occasion if it were not necessary to check the war agitators by unmasking their machinations and through worldwide actions including all those sincerely desiring peace.

If one considers with what cynicism the most aggressive circles of world imperialism, especially the United States, would like to get mankind used to the idea of a possible nuclear war as a divinely ordained matter of course, one realizes that there has been a change in the international situation which must be taken into account and from which we must draw the necessary conclusions.

This has nothing to do with striking fear and horror into the hands of the peoples of the West by explaining the dangers of nuclear war. What it has to do with is that the most aggressive circles of world imperialism, especially the United States, by their super arms drive especially in the nuclear sector, by arbitrarily declaring entire regions of this earth as their spheres of interest, by concentrating large land and air

forces, by massing naval forces in areas of tension, by mutually contradictory, but nonetheless very clear statements about nuclear first strikes, seek to push the world to the brink of nuclear war.

Only someone who wants to deceive people and lead them to disaster can misinterpret the mighty upsurge of the peace movement in Western countries. It is necessary to take a vigorous stand against the manipulation by the imperialist mass media which belittles both the danger and the consequences of a nuclear war.

Socialism -- Unconquerable Bulwark Against War Agitators

It would be suicidal not to see this. We believe that nobody should agree to a policy that wants to get mankind used to regarding the possibility of crossing the threshold between peace and war, and utter destruction in a nuclear inferno as inescapable. The means to counteract this danger exist. What matters is to use these means, which include above all the determination of the states of our socialist community, with its core, the USSR, to cast their full weight onto the scales of peace. There is surely no lack of evidence of the constructive attitude of our states toward solving the most important issue of our time. The proposals are on the table. They provide a backing for all those who take a stand for peace in their various ways. They show the way out of the policy of confrontation which is fanned by the most aggressive circles of imperialism.

One could mention all sorts of things in this connection. But here it is not necessary to discuss all questions linked with that. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, our own 10th party congress and the congresses of our fraternal parties in the other socialist world is an unconquerable bulwark against the war agitators. In view of the readiness of the USSR to talk about all questions of arms limitation, arms control and disarmament in accordance with the principles of equality and equal security, the argument of the imperialist side about the alleged threat presented by the USSR, about the SS-20's, about the so-called "arms lead" of the USSR which called for "counterarming", rebounds with full force on those who have disseminated the lie about the threat from the East in order to conceal their own intentions behind a smokescreen.

Recently, Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev once again declared -- something that was not without effect on the international public -- that in the opinion of the USSR there is no sector of disarmamentand no category of weapons on which agreement cannot be reached. With a view to the negotiations with the United States due to start in Geneva on 30 November 1981, he made it clear that the USSR will endeavor sincerely and constructively to come to a just agreement. The aim is to maintain by arms limitation and reduction the rough military and strategic parity at a lower level. Moreover, as we know, the USSR wants to cut the ground from beneath the first-strike theoreticians and their disastrous twaddle by securing a UN decision branding the first use of nuclear weapons as a crime.

United States Striving for Military Superiority

When the forthcoming negotiations between the USSR and the United States on the question of medium-range weapons were announced a short while ago, we welcomed this as a step in the right direction. At the same time we voiced the hope that it would have a favourable effect on lessening international tension, and normalizing the international situation, if these negotiations lead to genuine results. However, this presupposes good will not only on the part of the USSR but on both sides to achieve arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of approximate parity in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. In view of the long-term U.S. endeavor to end the period of detente in Europe and to secure military superiority by means of the arms race, doubts about the desire of the U.S. administration to come to genuine results during these negotiations are justified.

One cannot but state that yesterday's speech by President Reagan, which had been billed in advance as being of extremely great international importance, has reinforced rather than diminished the doubts about the U.S. desire to achieve genuine results in the

negotiations. In his speech Reagan failed to mention that the United States is not prepared to include in the negotiations the advanced U.S. nuclear missiles known as forward-based systems. Nor is anything said about the sea and air-based missiles.

U.S. Proposals Are a Mere Propaganda Trick

Under these conditions it is very understandable that world public opinion should regard the latest U.S. proposals as a pure propaganda maneuver intended to lead the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva under a cloud of smoke into a blind ally. As TASS has rightly pointed out, it is the purpose of the U.S. proposals to present the arms drive policy of the United States and its attempt to achieve military superiority as a peace initiative. Last, but not least, they are designed to intensify the pressure on public opinion, particularly in West Europe, where a strong peace movement has been gaining momentum.

According to today's FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU the disquiet felt in official U.S. quarters is due to any insistence by European governments that the United States should show more "good will" at the Geneva negotiations. The rethinking of U.S. policy is due at least as much to the unusually rapid growth of the peace movements in the countries of West Europe. Since the realization has become inescapable that threatening speeches and increasing arms expenditure are seen by a growing number of people on the other side of the Atlantic not so much as serving the preservation of peace as adding to a dangerous sense of insecurity, concern for the coherence of the alliance has grown in the United States itself.

The USSR, the GDR and the other countries of the socialist community jointly pursue the aim of preventing nuclear war, to avoid the danger of its breaking out. They have a comprehensive, constructive concept to prevent human civilization from being destroyed by nuclear war. This includes the reaching of agreements on nuclear-free zones, indeed the proposal to outlaw the nuclear weapon itself. We know that it is impossible to achieve everything at once. And that is why we take a determined stand, demanding that all those peoples be granted contractual protection against nuclear strikes who do not possess nuclear weapons and on whose territories no such weapons are stored.

Many facts show what dangers emanate from those who regard the nuclear strategy, that is the self-destruction of mankind, as a last resort. At the same time just as many facts show convincingly how these dangers can be overcome.

Powerful Peace Movement of Huge Dimensions

Dear Comrades! A powerful peace movement of huge dimensions has developed in the Western countries. This peace movement, which is directed against the arms drive policy of NATO, and especially of the U.S., embraces increasing sections of the people's masses regardless of their ideology or religion. These people proceed from the premise that nuclear death would make no distinction among them. They regard a security policy whose ultimate consequence would be the extermination of mankind and the destruction of civilization as a policy of suicide, a perversion of human thought and a mockery of reason.

Hope for mankind may be seen in the fact that not only the countries of the socialist community but broad sections in the capitalist countries, too, are taking a stand against this madness. One need only look at the peace demonstrations of over 300,000 people in Bonn, over 80 percent of whom were youngsters, and the powerful demonstrations in Paris, London, Rome, Washington, and many other cities. It is highly significant that this movement, whose character transcends party lines and all boundaries artificially erected between the advocates of peace in the past, forces even politicians who have always regarded Western "counterarming" as the be all and end, to think.

Is this by accident? Of course not. The cynical way in which the most aggressive imperialist circles have treated the right of men, of the present and future generations, to a peaceful future is bound to arouse the protest of millions. This protest is equally bound to be directed against those in the West who try to justify the stockpiling of armaments, especially nuclear weapons, with the flimsiest of reasons.

The day before yesterday it was blared forth in Bonn that Washington wanted before Brezhnev's visit, to demonstrate spectacularly to the Europeans its resolve to forego the stationing of "Pershing II" and "cruise missiles" provided that the Soviets made corresponding concessions. During the first phase of the negotiations in Geneva, on 30 November, the United States would press for an agreement on the land-based medium-range nuclear missiles. Against the background of the growing opposition in West Europe to new nuclear weapons, the U.S. National Security Council took a decision to this effect at the beginning of this week.

Snag of the "Zero Option" Is Obvious

We hear from the FRG that Bonn sees this as a success, since the United States has accepted the so-called zero option on medium-range missiles as the target of negotiations. It is said that there are now another 18 months available for U.S.-Soviet negotiations. It is added that if no satisfactory result is then achieved with Moscow, according to Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, missiles would then be deployed in Western Europe in accordance with the Brussels decision.

We would be only too glad to follow this argument. However, the snag of this patent solution is only too evident. First of all, nothing at all is being said about the U.S. forward-based nuclear weapons in north, west and southern Europe, and especially those with the air force and the navy. One of the leading personalities of the peace movement in the Federal Republic, Eppler, was right when he declared clearly the day before yesterday that all the West had so far declared to be a zero option was not meant seriously. He said that one could not expect a power such as the Soviet Union to scrap all the land-based missiles which it had built up in the past 20 years so that in return the West should refrain from developing land-based missiles, while air-born and naval-based Western missiles would be entirely left aside. This was no serious solution for negotiations. The peace movement will be an imperative force in the 1980's. If the U.S. administration continues to act as it has until now, in the end the majority of FRG citizens will oppose the deployment of U.S. missiles in the Federal Republic. One of the objectives of the peace movement is to prevent the deployment of the "Pershing II" and "cruise missiles".

A Bad Maneuver and Its Purpose

Comrades! We would be only too glad to follow the optimism which is now being disseminated by official quarters in Bonn in connection with the impending Soviet-U.S. negotiations and the Brezhnev visit in Bonn. Nothing would be better for the world than if genuine results were achieved in the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva on 30 November 81. This is our straightforward opinion and we would like to underline this. However, we are not justified in ignoring those voices which argue that with this spectacular step which has been wandering around for a long time in the Western countries as the zero option, the Reagan administration is not so much concerned with renouncing military-strategic superiority, desired by many sides, than -- as pointed out in the leading article of the West Berlin TAGESSPIEGEL -- with giving Federal Chancellor Schmidt on the eve of the Brezhnev visit to Bonn the possibility to proceed from a common Western position on the question of security, and to provide an opportunity, desired because of internal and foreign political factors, to underscore the constructive role of the Federal Republic in the dialogue between the big powers. But in actual fact, the article goes on to say, both Bonn and Washington know only too well how difficult it will be to achieve such a patent solution.

This is correct, because this proposal overlooks all the medium-range weapons deployed in north, west and southern Europe and the entire nuclear arsenal with which the NATO armed forces are equipped for the so-called day X. If this is what is meant -- and nothing so far speaks against it -- then the whole thing is a bad maneuver to put an end to the theater, as they call it in the United States, in connection with U.S. nuclear weapons in Western Europe. In the future the words "theater nuclear forces" are no longer to be printed in the United States.

Balance of Power Makes It Possible To Prevent War

"I think it is good that quite a few people who have up till now given the peace movement the label "Moscow-guided" begin to think today whether a policy striving for military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community and which in the final analysis will create the threat of a nuclear war is in fact acceptable. This is clearly not so, all the more so since there is no inevitable need for a policy of suicide. In view of the strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, not even champions of such a policy can expect to avoid nuclear destruction in a fire which they themselves have kindled."

Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's recent statements on the vital questions of the peoples, as well as statements made by many personalities specially familiar with these questions, as well as the growing number of former NATO generals who come out for peace, leave no-one in doubt about this. Not even those who, according to latest reports, were trying out a first nuclear strike during NATO sand table exercises can fail to see that if things came to a crunch, a second and third strike would follow. Everyone can work out for himself what this would mean for the densely populated areas in Europe, the United States and other parts of the world. It also makes it clear how light-heartedly certain NATO circles are treating the future of mankind.

Indeed a diabolical game under the slogan: "There Are More Important Things Than Peace." It is not new that there are such people. It is said that World War I was "like a spa treatment" for Hindenburg. The result: 10 million dead. Hitler regarded war as a means to expand the "1,000-Year Reich" oriented on introducing slavery. The results: 50 million dead. He sent men, women and children to the gas chambers to crush resistance to his mad quest for world domination. His yearning for military-strategic superiority over the whole world. May mankind be spared once and for all the effects of thinking of such people! So let us leave no one in any doubt as to the aims of politicians who speak of counterarming but who are engaged in advance arming.

We possess firm positions in the fight for peace. They have their foundations in the nature of our socialist social system. If we make a thorough analysis of the international situation and expose the fragility and crimes of the imperialist system, we arrive at conclusions which need in no way and must not remain our secret alone. In view of the balance of power in the world there is every possibility of preventing war, especially one in which nuclear, chemical or bacteriological weapons of destruction would be used. This can be done if all conflicting international problems are solved not by force but around the negotiating table, if political realism gains the upper hand over adventurism, if all peoples throughout the world fight against the plans and actions of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, for curbing the arms race and securing peace.

Fraternal Alliance With the Soviet Union of Fundamental Importance

Dear Comrades! Our priority duty was and is the constant reinforcement of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, the intensification and development of our all-round fruitful cooperation. This is not only of fundamental importance for the further progress in our own country. It is clearer than ever today that the reinforcement of our community, its unity and cohesion, is of great significance for the class confrontation with imperialism and its policy of confrontation. The successes which every fraternal party and every fraternal country obtains in socialist and communist construction and mastering often not uncomplicated tasks and problems linked with this, count all the more.

This spirit also characterized my meeting with Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Crimea in August this year. We agreed that the 26th CPSU Congress and the 10th SED Congress had opened new horizons for our cooperation. On the basis of the state of socialist and communist construction, and the requirements of the 1980's, we agreed on our next steps. They will contribute toward making even more effective use of and enriching the economic, scientific and technical potential of both countries.

We are also contributing to the reinforcement of the collective institutions of the socialist community, the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. We also reached unanimous conclusions at the Crimea meeting in assessing the present world situation.

The response to the Crimea meeting was unequivocal. Our people understand better and better that the unshakable fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the firm rooting of the GDR in the community of socialist states are the basis of our successful advance. The unswerving struggle of the Soviet Union, our republic and the other socialist countries for peace as a vital question of mankind finds the undivided support of the GDR citizens.

For Us Man Is the Measure of All Things

The truth of our century that socialism is the strongest bastion of social progress, of the national and social liberation of the peoples, of the struggle for a lasting world peace, has been borne out by history again and again. No one can overturn it. If one looks at the crisis-ridden capitalist world, where according to a report by the OECD, nearly 24 million people were unemployed in the middle of this year in 24 capitalist industrial states, among them a large number of young people, where it is customary to speak of "nil growth", and "negative growth", where the arms drive policy presents a handful of millionaires with huge profits while the social benefits for the working people are subjected to increasingly radical cuts, this truth becomes particularly apparent. Following the uncovering of the causes of World War I and World War II there is no doubt that they are inherent in the imperialist system as such, in its search for maximum profit, in the expansion of the power of one or the other imperialist states, in the desire to redistribute the world and divide it into "spheres of interest."

For us under socialism, for the policy of the party and the government man is the measure of all things and the good of the people the supreme concern. We employ the advantages of our social system to safeguard and increase step-by-step the material and cultural living standards of the people. Social security is part of our everyday life. Science and education are open to everyone. The prospects ahead are worth striving for by everyone. To try in one's daily work to serve the interests of society and one's own interests makes sense and is worthwhile.

GDR Praised as Stable Country Throughout the World

Dear Comrades! As was decided at the 10th congress cooperation with the fraternal countries of the socialist community has been further developed. Progress embraces all spheres of life and is producing valuable experience. It benefits every single country in the building of socialism and helps to increase the potential of our community of peoples.

Revolutionary Cuba which is subjected to a massive policy of boycott and threats by U.S. imperialism can count on our firm solidarity. Our party, all our people emphatically affirm from this third meeting of the Central Committee their unrestricted solidarity with the fraternal Cuban people. At the recent meeting with Fidel Castro in Havana it had again been shown that the fraternal relations between our parties, peoples and states are developing dynamically on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We support the active efforts of the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to strengthen peace and stability in southeast Asia. We strongly condemn all attempts by U.S. imperialism and Beijing hegemonism to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. Like the other fraternal countries we have consistently rejected at the United Nations all attempts to misuse international bodies for interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

The power of attraction and the growing influence of socialism was also highlighted by the Fourth Conference of the Ministers of Education of Socialist Countries in Berlin, in which delegations from 16 countries from four continents participated.

They noted with satisfaction that school has become a decisive factor in helping to shape the revolutionary development in their countries. There a truly democratic educational system, open to all children, is coming into being. The role of the teacher as a revolutionary fighter for peace and socialism, as a decided propagandist of the cause of the workers class and an intransigent champion of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist ethics in all fields of social life was stressed.

During the period under review I made official visits to Japan and the United Mexican States. The Politburo pays very great tribute to the course and the results on which the public has been informed in detail. These visits, just as many other foreign policy activities of our party and state, for instance as regards France, Portugal, Great Britain and Denmark, stress that in the present complicated situation broad international exchanges and lively political contacts between statesmen from countries with different social systems are particularly valuable and necessary.

In any case it has been shown: Our GDR is held in esteem as a stable socialist state which is developing dynamically and pursuing a constructive peace policy. This is primarily the result of the industrious work of the whole people and has a favorable effect on international relations. We affirm our principle of working for the policy of peaceful coexistence also in the future.

On the Relations With the FRG

In our policy toward the FRG we are likewise proceeding from the unaltered premise that it is above all a question of serving peace and safeguarding it durably. The period now behind us has shown that even in difficult times the two sides can reach agreement on important questions. By virtue of the experience of history both German states bear particular responsibility for peace. Everyone knows that the development of normal relations between the GDR and the FRG on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence is not of inconsiderable importance for the overall situation in Europe beyond the two German states. At the same time, these relations can only be such as are internationally customary between sovereign, independent and equal states.

Allowance must be made for the fact that the GDR and the FRG belong to different alliances, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. On our side nobody overlooks this. But it should add to the duty of proceeding at this neuralgic point of world politics with commonsense and cool reason. Revanchist doctrines about the "continued existence of the German Reich in the borders of 1937" which have still not been discarded in the FRG, are in direct contrast to the normalization of relations and good neighborly relations between the two German states. To take leave of these unrealistic doctrines once and for all would be a genuine contribution by the FRG to the development of its relations with the GDR, and thus to the safeguarding of peace.

Always at the Side of the Fighters for Progress

Dear Comrades! The World Congress of Women in Prague turned into an important international event. It showed more clearly than ever before the broad opposition of women against the U.S. policy of confrontation and arms drive, their support for peace, national independence, social security and equal rights. At the same time the congress was an expression of the growing knowledge of above all young women of most diverse political and religious ideologies that the danger of a war can only be averted by the joint struggle of all peace forces, together with the socialist countries.

Since the 10th SED Congress the GDR has proved that it is always at the side of those who defend the right of peoples to national sovereignty and of self-determination. The friendship visit of Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) Labor Party and the People's Republic of Angola, in our country contributed toward further strengthening the alliance of socialism and national liberation movement in the struggle for peace, freedom and social progress. The leading and inspiring role which the fraternal affinity between the SED and MPLA-Labor Party plays in this connection was stressed. The joint declaration, the agreement between our parties on their cooperation through 1985 will contribute, as do the state

accords and agreements, toward further developing the manifold bilateral relations on the basis of the friendship treaty to the benefit of both peoples.

We were pleased to welcome 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and chairman of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen Council of Ministers, and the party and state delegation led by him. The results of our talks, the documents which were signed and which are characterized by the spirit of proletarian internationalism and mutually advantageous cooperation, above all the agreement on long-term cooperation between our parties, make the fraternal affinity in the joint struggle even more close.

The GDR works resolutely for a comprehensive Middle East settlement. It upholds the just cause of the Palestinian people whose courageous struggle for the realization of its inalienable rights meets with sympathy and respect throughout the world. In view of the open "strategic alliance" of the United States and Israel the unity and cohesion of the Arab states and all patriotic forces are of particular importance.

High Common Responsibility of All Communists

Comrades! Knowing the high common responsibility of the communists for peace and the prevention of the danger of war, our party has been and is striving to consolidate and extend cooperation with the communist and workers parties, with all forces interested in peace and progress. In this endeavor the main accent is on deepening the comradeship-in-arms with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries and on making it still more effective.

At the beginning of November the regular conference of the secretaries for international and ideological questions of the Central Committees of communist and workers parties from 11 socialist countries was held in Moscow. A Central Committee delegation of our party headed by Comrade Kurt Hager also participated in it. The active participation of the fraternal parties from Cuba, Vietnam and Laos was another step toward expanding the multilateral coordination.

The discussion was a useful contribution toward implementing the tasks in the ideological and foreign political fields set in the communiques of the Crimea meetings. Largely united positions and joint tasks regarding the main questions of the struggle for the implementation of the foreign policy line of the socialist community and against the aggressive plans and actions of imperialism were arrived at. The exchange of views and experience on ideological questions of the internal development of the social countries has also proved valuable. The speeches of the representatives of the fraternal parties revealed a large measure of unanimity in assessing the international situation and the actions required.

According to the unanimous view of the participants, consultations and votes at various levels on concrete questions of the foreign political and ideological work will be held more regularly and operatively in future. The necessity was stressed to further increase the level and the effectiveness of cooperation among the fraternal parties in these questions.

The visit of Comrade Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, in the GDR turned into an impressive demonstration of fraternal affinity between both parties and solidarity support for the struggle of the U.S. communists. Our talks again revealed full agreement. The conviction was stressed that the realization of the peace-endangering plans of U.S. imperialism can be thwarted by the determined resistance of all social forces. Comrade Hall expressed with heartfelt words the appreciation for the progress of the socialist GDR in all fields.

Our party made further efforts to continue to develop cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties. This aim was furthered by the visit of a delegation of the Finnish Socialist Party to the GDR and the participation of SED Central Committee delegation in the party congresses of the British Labor Party, the French Socialist Party and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party.

Ten Key Points of the Economic Strategy -- Yardstick of Our Actions

Dear Comrades! In the domestic policy field, in implementing the decisions of the 10th congress, account must be taken of the material and cultural tasks arising in the course of further shaping the developed socialist society. It is obvious that in this connection the ten key points of our economic strategy for the 1980's are the yardstick for the actions. They demand from us to master all those factors that guarantee the further stable dynamic development. In implementing this policy we have achieved significant successes since the 10th congress, as great progress was made in preparing the 10th congress in those fields which influence our economic strategy. But we are only at the beginning in implementing the great task, to shape our economy completely in accordance with the demands of the 1980's.

The socialist intensification, the fact that we want to implement the economic and sociopolitical directive with even less raw materials and industrial materials than decided at the 10th congress put high demands on the management of the national economic processes, the increase of quality and the effectiveness of the social labor. This resulted in the fact that the Politburo dealt with questions of the economic and social policy in every meeting, paying the utmost attention to the increase of labor productivity. Taking into account the global situation as well as the mastering of those problems resulting from the international division of labor, decisions were required from the Politburo and the Council of Ministers which make it possible for us to fulfill the directive of the 10th party congress for the national economic development through 1985.

This was facilitated for us by the favorable conditions which the USSR gives us in view of the price increases in the international market for the import of raw materials, especially oil, as well as by the great experiences of our national economy in reducing the specific consumption of materials and energy. The draft 5-year plan on hand is generally balanced in trade with the socialist world, above all with the Soviet Union. At the same time the draft takes account of the tasks arising from the overall economic requirements, from the economic accountancy for our national economy as a whole, and from our tasks toward the nonsocialist economic area. The fact that the GDR, in accordance with the policy envisaged during the preparations for the 10th congress this year, showed a trade surplus despite the tough competition in the world market underlined the reality of the tasks in the plans now presented. However we must proceed even more than before according to the principle, that only what we produce ourselves and what has been created by our own work can be distributed.

The 5-Year Plan Fully Corresponds With the Directive of the 10th Party Congress

As has already been said, following the extensive work of party and government and taking into account a broad discussion in which over 90 percent of all working people in the working collectives participated, the Politburo can present to the third meeting of the Central Committee the drafts for the 1981-85 5-year plan and for the plan for the second year of this 5-year period, which fully correspond with the targets set by the 10th congress and the directive on the economic development for this period passed by it. The drafting of such a 5-year plan is of the utmost significance for the continued strengthening of the GDR, its international role in the struggle for peace and the life of all its citizens. I want to stress that the comprehensive democratic discussion which was held on these important documents opened up valuable reserves. The workers, cooperative peasants, members of the intelligentsia, women and young people, labor veterans and entire collectives from all sectors of the economy submitted proposals which had to be examined. I need not emphasize that the capitalist world, even under the best conditions for elections and election results, can offer no example of such a broad involvement of working people in the management of the national economy and drawing up its prospects.

According to the directive of the 10th congress, the national income is to be increased in 1985 to 128 percent compared with 1980. During the period of the 5-year plan it will total over M1 billion. Compared with 1980, industrial goods production is to increase by 1985 to 131 percent. Altogether, total output under the 5-year plan will amount to at least M2.2 billion. Labor productivity in industry is to increase to 129 percent.

As an illustration of the order of magnitude which this implies, it should be understood that in 1985 goods production on a single working day will amount to M1.9 billion.

The 5-year plan prescribes the decisive direction for the development of the productive forces. This concerns, for instance, microelectronics, robot technology and the refinement of raw and ancillary materials. It is laid down that the material-technical base should be developed mainly by modernization and renovation. The Politburo emphasizes the task that the production of high-quality consumer goods, for which there is a strong demand among the population and on external markets, should be substantially increased.

For the agriculture and the foodstuff industry the 5-year plan envisages a considerable increase of production from a stable supply of the people with foodstuffs and of the industry with raw materials. The main thing is to further reduce the grain imports. The targets of the increase in performance are founded on the better promotion of the initiative of cooperative peasants and workers on the basis of the unified reproduction process of crop cultivation and livestock raising. Agricultural production cooperatives are to be helped even more to cope with their tasks in the eighties on the basis of the broadest promotion of cooperative democracy, their closer cooperation in cooperation councils. This is in accordance with the repeatedly stated determination of the cooperative peasants and the place of agriculture as a part of the overall economy.

All possibilities for a maximum development of the crop and animal production must be utilized. By a correct ratio between input and output total crop production in 1985 is to amount to between 4.37 and 4.42 tons of grain units per hectare of agricultural land. Increasing yields per hectare and larger cultivation areas will make it possible to produce at least 10.4 million tons of grain in 1985. The state production of slaughter cattle is to reach 2.4 million tons by that time.

To Produce More at Low Expense -- a Demand of the Time

Building production in the economy will increase in 1985 to 118 percent compared to 1980, thus reaching M37 billion in the last year of this period. Even for the transportation and communications sectors and the other fields of the economy, the 5-year plan is based on the targets adopted at the party congress. Here we proceed from the fact that it is the most favorable thing to achieve, through clever planning of the goods supplies and cooperation, the kind of collaboration that would save unnecessary transportation and thus increase the performance capacity of the transportation sector.

Comrades!

A number of new questions had to be taken into consideration in this work. We proceeded from the accurate analysis made by the 10th party congress of the decisive trend of the 1980's and from the far-reaching conclusions it had drawn. As regards the international raw material situation, the conclusion was reached that the annual growth rates of production will have to be achieved essentially without more material and energy, a truly challenging task which is characteristic of the new phase. We therefore decided to reinforce the domestic raw materials base, to extract more lignite, thereby replacing other energy resources and in general reduce the amount of raw material and energy used.

The development of the world economy and of the international market shows that it is increasingly important to produce more at a lower cost. This is so not only in our country. It is not a manifestation of a paupers' economy -- not in the least -- but is simply a fundamental demand of an era in which because of the scientific technological progress, the incrase in labor productivity is more decisive than ever before.

The important task in every branch of the economy, and above all in the chemical industry, is to make comprehensive use of domestic energy resources, especially lignite, and to mobilize reserves in the materials and energy economy. In this connection the initiative of advanced combines in the socialist competition is to be systematically

supported. Funds of raw materials, material and energy as well as financial means which were handed over to them together with the plan are to be made available for the national economy. We appeal for the examination in every enterprise and every facility of what can be dispensed with in favor of urgent tasks.

For the stable and dynamic development of our national economy, the Politburo has made the necessary decisions for the stable and dynamic development of our national economy. This above all applies to the efficiency of science and technology as well as to the more effective utilization of all raw materials and energy resources.

Housing Remains the Core of Social Policy

Comrades! If we talk about the tasks of this 5-year plan, which in many respects put very high demands on the quality and effectiveness of social work, we also have to mention the prerequisites for fulfilling them. First of all there is our socialist planned economy, which has again stood its test under the conditions of the intensification and improved accordingly. The material and intellectual potential of our national economy has grown unimpeded. The people's readiness to perform is enormous. Good work pays for the society as well as for the individual. This was so, is so and will remain so.

Also in the new 5-year plan we will continue the housing program as the core of our social policy. About 940,000 apartments will be completed, including 600,000 new ones. As in the past they will be allocated mainly to workers, large families and young married couples. Housing will be particularly expanded in the workers class centers.

It is planned to establish a favorable proportion between new buildings, modernization and maintaining the housing stock. That is how the available funds could help the maximum number of people. The further development of the GDR capital occupies a key place in our housing program. All that has already been achieved with the help of all the bezirke has fundamentally changed the image of socialist Berlin. This development will continue impressively in the new 5-year plan.

In harmony with higher performances, the net pay of the population will rise. The stable supply of the population is a firm component of the 5-year plan. In this spirit the plan provides concrete tasks for increasing the availability of new and high quality consumer goods, especially by industry.

The draft 5-year plan contains all necessary measures for the development of the uniform socialist education system. Medical and social care, facilities for recreation, physical culture and sports are being constantly expanded. In accordance with material standards, cultural standards, too, are being steadily improved. The draft 5-year plan contains challenging tasks for all sections of society without exception. Their fulfillment demands an improvement in the input and output ratio everywhere.

2.7-Day Plan Lead Demonstrates Strength of Competition

Comrades, hand in hand with the finalizing of the 5-year plan the daily struggle for fulfilling the 1981 economic plan is being waged. Indeed essential decisions for the entire 5-year period are made by the successful plan implementation in the first year. By the end of October the targets of industrial goods production were not only fulfilled but exceeded. Our national economy turned out M14 billion worth of goods more than during the corresponding 1980 period. In industry the lead in plan fulfillment amounts to the equivalent of 2.7 days production. The growth rate in production was 5.6 percent per working day. It is particularly important that we thus succeeded in accelerating the pace of performance growth.

This has certainly not fallen into our lap. On the contrary, quite a few complicated tasks had to be solved on the road to these positive results. These results give evidence of the great initiative and diligence of the workers and cooperative peasants, the members of the intelligentsia and the other working people. The progress achieved in management and planning are reflected in plain figures. Primarily, however, they

give evidence of the enormous strength and breadth achieved by socialist mass competition in our country in implementing the decisions of the 10th party congress.

The special value of economic growth in the 10 months lies in the fact that it was primarily achieved through a higher effectiveness of labor. In the first three quarters of 1981 the specific consumption of important energy resources, raw materials and industrial materials was reduced by 5 percent. Labor productivity in industry went up by 5.1 percent and in the building sector by 4.3 percent. All that is reflected in industry alone by a saving in cost of more than M1.1 billion. Thus our national income, too, was able to continue developing dynamically with a 5 percent increase.

By the end of October over 20 percent more products with the highest quality mark were produced than during the corresponding 1980 period. New and revolutionary technologies were introduced in production at a noteworthy rate. The production of semiconductor components and electronic chips was 25 percent higher by the end of October than a year ago, and as much as 46 percent higher regarding important basic types of electronic microcircuits.

Intensification Determines Further Growth

Thus our party's economic strategy for the 1980's is already proving its worth in life. Only this made possible the good fulfillment of the ambitious plan targets. Our economy is successfully developing along the mapped-out course. What is now needed is to proceed still more consistently, and to apply the best results and experiences on the largest possible scale in the national economy.

Economic growth is now directly dependent on further progress in intensification, in fact, in every sector of societal production. For all practical purposes the energy, raw materials and industrial material funds can no more be enlarged than the number of workers. The investments available to us are also strictly limited. Hence a further increase in production can only be accomplished by achieving a better input-output ratio through consistent intensification. There is no other way.

It is precisely in that sense that the Politburo has adopted a resolution about further improving the quality of management and planning of science and technology. Through this resolution, basic derivations are made from the requirements of the 1980's. In essence the objective is to substantially increase the economic effectiveness of science and technology. The instruction was issued to strictly proceed from the performance targets of the 5-year plan wherever scientific-technical targets are set. From this angle it is necessary to check the contents of every task, if necessary to freshly determine it, to provide shorter terms of implementation and for this purpose to further concentrate the research and development potential. All this will have to show in higher economic results and in deeper effects on economic efficiency, extending as far as to foreign trade. Particular emphasis was placed on the need for developing more high-quality consumer goods.

Regarding a large part of the scientific-technical tasks, one still tends to be satisfied with the level of development that has already been achieved in the world. The share of top achievements is still too small. In some cases project implementation periods of more than 4 years are allowed. However, the binding norm period is 2 years at the most. The ambition of researchers, engineers and innovators must be focused on high achievements of their own, marked by bold ideas and leading to products and technologies that bring the GDR economy and its position in the world markets clear-cut advantages.

High Effectiveness Begins in the Laboratory and at the Drawing Board

Comrades, especially for the vital questions of our economy's effectiveness the solution can only begin with scientific-technical progress. Great progress regarding the intensification of our production always originates at the drawing board and in the laboratory. The best example is the increase in labor productivity and the thorough improvement in fuel and materials economy. Thus the annual targets for saving in working

hours must essentially be ensured by scientific-technical achievements. In 1981 we will probably reach 492.7 million hours in our national economy. Next year it is to be more than 523 million hours and in 1985 660 million hours. Every effort must be made to even exceed these targets.

At more than half of the combines labor productivity rose more quickly in 1981, and in some cases growth rates of over 10 percent were achieved. Now it is necessary to overcome unjustified differences and to make the best growth rates increasingly the general norm. It must not happen that outstanding labor results are not reflected in the overall results because others remain behind their targets and plan figures. We want to achieve a higher technological level on a very broad scale.

Microelectronics and robot building continue to deserve special attention. There are future-determining technologies without which even today our modern industry could not be imagined. The international pace in this sector demands that we further accelerate the development of microelectronics in our country. It is becoming more and more essential to more fully utilize the already existing possibilities and to advance more quickly. Active personal commitment, the gaining of one's own personal experience -- that cannot be replaced by anything else. What is now needed is to organize electronic capacities in the combines themselves. The component parts deliveries from the electrotechnical and electronics industry will be concentrated more than in the past on standard-type units.

At present 9,260 industrial robots are operating in our country. They must be used even more, with a view to achieving the most far-reaching possible effect on the technological process. More attention must be paid to ensuring that this technology is operating on a three-shift schedule. This is gaining increasing importance also for other modern technologies. A constantly growing part of production workers are working with expensive, highly productive installations. Quite a few of them have cost half a million marks or more. Such assets must be optimally used.

The Politburo pays tribute to the outstanding results achieved by the Schwedt initiative "Fewer Produce More". The working people of the main enterprise of the Schwedt petrochemical combine have fulfilled the great task of making available 2,400 workers for putting two plants of great importance for the national economy into operation ahead of schedule on 7 October this year.

With their experiences a way was shown to virtually all combines and enterprises for saving jobs, so that the workers can take over other functions. It is of essential economic significance that at present, for example, as many as three quarter of all chemical industry workers are included in the Schwedt initiative, and by 1985 more than 35,000 workers will be available for taking other, important jobs in their combines. The Politburo supports the spreading of this initiative throughout our national economy.

In this context let us underscore again: Wherever technology and work organization are changed, the improvement of working and living conditions of the working people is our primary concern. Better conditions -- that means primarily less heavy physical labor, fewer health hazards, less monotony and more room for satisfying, qualified creative activity.

It is elementary for socialist management to foster close, trustful relations with the working collectives, to constantly keep them informed about their tasks, and to discuss with them in good time new solutions. All questions of the working climate and of the social conditions require the greatest attention. The same priority applies to ensuring order and security. These things, as I have said, are elementary, but party controls have shown that some managers, party and trade union organizations must more quickly react to workers' suggestions and proposals about these problems, and that they must heed them more in their actions.

Comrades, as far as the securing of our energy and raw material supply is concerned, successful work has already been done. In the past 10 months of this year, we have produced over and above the plan targets 4.4 million tons of crude brown coal, 766,000

tons of brown coal briquets, and 818,000 tons of sifted coal. With more than 267 million tons of crude brown coal our coal industry this year scored the hitherto highest annual output. The available powerplant capacity was raised to nearly 16,000 megawatts and is thus 300 megawatts higher than provided for in the plan. New capacities of 1,000 megawatts went into operation according to plan, some ahead of schedule.

Rational Use of Energy -- A Key Problem

These good results enabled us to substitute for substantial quantities of imported fuels. While the share of crude brown coal in primary energy consumption last year was 64 percent, it has been 67 percent in 1981. The conversions required for this, which frequently were not so easy, were effected at the enterprises and combines responsibly, without interfering with production.

At the same time we succeeded in reducing the overall energy consumption. The economic growth of the past 10 months was achieved with a declining primary energy consumption in absolute terms. About one third less bituminous coal was used. In the years 1980 and 1981 together, 2.5 million tons of bituminous coal was saved. This constitutes an essential progress as regards economic effectiveness.

Proceeding from the available quantity of fuel and energy, the Politburo regards carrying out a package of measures in our economy as necessary. Primarily, they are aimed at raising brown coal production over and above the present stages to nearly 295 million tons by 1985, and accelerating the production of highly refined brown coal products. At the same time it is obvious that such a development must be supported by the entire national economy. The replacement of fuel oil by crude brown coal is the hard core of all measures. At the same time it will be necessary to use more domestic natural gas and city gas.

Targets have been set for further refining oil, and for raising the output of carbo-chemical products. It is also necessary to further reduce the use of diesel oil and gasoline in the national economy and by the state and social institutions, displaying a high sense of responsibility. There must not be any waste anywhere. Controls have uncovered large reserves that must be utilized by switching from road to rail transport, by better utilizing transport capacities, by ensuring a faultless technical condition of vehicles, and by complying with fuel consumption norms. At the same time the instruction was issued to meet the demand of the population and to ensure the smooth functioning of school and commuter traffic.

It is necessary to leave no stone unturned to save bituminous coal coke. In carbide production, we are beginning to process a special brown coal high-temperature coke. In other fields, too, new solutions are necessary. A decisive factor is a stable energy supply, especially meeting peak requirements in winter. A high availability to our power plants must be ensured at any time. What has proved to be especially important is a more reliable quality of management and control of the GDR power system.

The key for meeting the demand for power is to use it more and more efficiently. In general, the saving of a certain quantity of power requires only half the cost of a corresponding expansion of power production. The losses in power production, transmission and transformation must be essentially reduced. And this brings us back to science. New solutions to reduce power losses, to utilize secondary energy, to ensure a more efficient use of power in the economy and in the building sector, and the development of new energy-saving technologies have become particularly urgent research tasks.

To Better Refine Materials Through Qualified Work

Comrades, what we have achieved through our work since the 10th party congress proves that our future economic performance increase can be accomplished without essential increase in power, raw materials and fuel consumption. The same strict measures as for energy consumption also apply to the economical use of materials. The Politburo again stresses the need for higher refinement of every kilo of raw material and industrial material through qualified work. After the tenth party congress, instructions were

issued immediately stipulating that each industry ministry and the Ministry of Construction set the basic tasks to this effect in their own sphere of responsibility. Constant work on these concepts was an important prerequisite for finalizing the 5-year plan on hand.

From raw material production to finished goods production, all branches are participating in this program. The profile of our national economy will thus acquire in some respects new features that will more and more correspond to the image of a highly efficient industrialized country of the 1980's. By 1985, for example, 80 percent of the rolled steel produced in the GDR will consist of higher refined types.

The Central Committee Secretariat has decided to take further steps to develop refinement chemistry on the basis of domestic raw materials at the Bitterfeld chemical combine. At present, M1 worth of raw material input at this combine brings M23 worth of goods production. In the future, M1 worth of raw material input will bring M49 worth of goods production through refinement. At the same time a great national economic benefit will be achieved for users getting new high-quality products. This has become possible on the basis of new scientific-technical results, new technologies on the road of socialist rationalization.

Comrades, the Politburo has decided to make more efficient use of our accumulated funds. In 1980 GDR industry alone had basic assets worth M306.4 billion, of which 1/3 was not older than 5 years, and more than 1/2 not older than 10 years. This means that in the past 10 years we have created or renewed 1/2 of our equipment. Other sectors such as agriculture and the building sector also have a considerable share of modern equipment.

Effective management at such a development stage always depends on how well we are using what we have. This also sets the direction for investment policy. It would be absurd to build new plants for the new technology in addition to the existing ones. It has proved far more advantageous to rationalize existing plants on the basis of progressive technology. However, this does not allow a mechanical handling of the so-called cast-out quota. We do not want to plead for outdated technical equipment, but often it costs only a little to modernize such units.

In proceeding along these lines, the production by enterprises of their own rationalization means is further gaining in importance. The same applies to the construction departments of the combines. The production of rationalization means, which in 1980 was M3.5 billion, is to amount to at least M6 billion in 1985. Already today, 56,600 highly qualified engineers and skilled workers are working in these sectors in industry alone. The Politburo has decided to accelerate the development of these valuable capacities under the responsibility of the ministers.

Progress in Management and Planning of Investments

Today it can rightly be said that initial progress has been achieved in improving the management and planning of investments. Their effectiveness is increasing. Important results from the science and technology state plan are made more quickly effective for production. The concentration on projects with national economic priority has increased, last but not least by restricting the number of new projects. The share of rationalization measures is also increasing. However, the periods of implementation are still too long. It is necessary to shorten the building periods to the societal norm of 2 years, and to even less for projects under M20 million.

Investments have a substantial effect on the demand for workers. In 1980, there was a newly created demand for three workers to every one worker who became available through investments. In the metal processing industry sector, more jobs were saved this year than were newly created by investments. In 1982, there is to be a similar development for the first time in the entire industry.

The effective use of investments thus strongly influences the basic trends and proportions of our economy. The Central Committee Secretariat has therefore ruled that

investment projects worth M5 million or more must be organized under the responsibility of the minister concerned and of the State Planning Commission chairman, in compliance with the standards that have been set by the 10th party congress. Naturally these principles also apply to projects worth less than M5 million, which are subjected to special controls by the bezirk and kreis leaderships of our party, the bezirk and kreis councils, and the mayors.

Successful Continuation of Our Social Policy

Comrades, since we have succeeded in continuously maintaining the performance increase in our national economy and even accelerating it, it was also possible to successfully continue our social policy. Thus new steps for improving the people's working and living conditions were taken. That was done at a time when in the capitalist countries the word social progress is used only in the past tense any more, and the so-called social security network is showing more and more tears.

In 10 months of this year, 149,986 apartments were handed over to users, 17,019 apartments more than the substantial figures of the corresponding period last year. The implementation of our sociopolitical program is thus showing again and again what a high priority we give to the housing problem. In addition, 10,208 nursery places, 17,352 kindergarten places, 2,016 class rooms and 105 school sport halls were newly built.

Along with the growing performances, the net monetary incomes of the people have risen since the beginning of the year by more than M3 billion. On the other hand, there have been quantitatively and qualitatively better supplies of goods. Production and goods deliveries to the market substantially expanded. The range of goods for children was markedly increased. We can note progress regarding fashion goods for young people. Altogether, industry supplied to the citizens M748 million worth of goods over and above the plan. At the same time prices for essential products are and remain stable.

The net monetary incomes of the peoples thus went up 3.2 percent in the first 10 months of this year as against the corresponding period of last year. The share of working incomes of white and blue collar workers in the overall monetary income of the people has increased according to plan. This year 265,000 workers, foremen, and higher and vocational school cadres again drew performance-oriented basic wages and salaries. They are based on scientific organization of work. The wage increases decided by the Politburo, the GDR Council of Ministers and the FDGB National Executive Committee for selected workers' groups, which will become effective by the end of the year, fit in with our performance-oriented wage policy.

As of 1 December 1981 wages will be raised for 265,000 working people who are working to constantly improve medical and social care for our population. There will be substantial raises in the working incomes of 190,000 nurses, children's nurses, midwives, medical-technical assistants, physiotherapists and other medical school cadres, skilled workers and assistants, for 10,000 members of medical crafts such as orthopedic mechanics, dental technicians and opticians as well as for about 43,000 kitchen workers, firemen, cleaning personnel, tradesmen and employees in laundries of the public health and social welfare service.

More than 36,000 working people in other sectors were granted wage increases. They include persons employed in the housing sector, shoemakers, leather workers and bicycle mechanics in private crafts and trade enterprises who by their work help meet everyday needs of the people.

Our measures indicate that in sociopolitics we are purposefully pursuing important basic lines which are derived from the nature of our society. This applies particularly to the promotion of young people regarding vocational training, jobs and family.

New Benefits for the Families

Since the beginning of the new training year, all apprentices are getting higher apprentice pay. For an apprentice in the last half year of his apprenticeship, this

means a monthly pay of up to M200. All students at our universities, higher and specialized schools are now getting a state scholarship, with increased stimuli for good study results. The state pays educational subsidies for all students in the 11th and 12th grade of expanded secondary schools. Altogether M380 million more than last year are being spent in this sector annually.

Comrades, on 1 September the credit program for young married couples has been substantially expanded, a program which, as you know, offers particularly favorable conditions. Now even more young married couples can make use of this program. The income limits have been abolished. Now even persons entering their second marriage are eligible for a loan, provided that they are under 26 years of age and did not get a loan in their first marriage. The loan provisions will apply to children born before the marriage if one of the couple applying for a loan is vested with the right of education, as well as to adopted children.

These expanded privileges have been widely used. In the first month of their being in effect, the number of new borrowers increased to 342 percent as compared with the previous month. Thus a total of 726,477 loan agreements were concluded with young married couples between May 1972 and August 1981, and more than M4.2 billion were allotted for these loans.

For about 767,900 children credit repayments were waived, including 24,390 third children. Altogether about M906 did not have to be repaid to the state because credit repayment was waived. More than 20,600 young couples did not have to repay the entire interest-free loan of M5000 because they gave birth to three children.

Moreover, the Politburo decided to comprehensively increase children's allowances again for every third and every additional child in the family. As of 1 December 1981, this amounts to M100 a month for the third child as well as for any additional child. For this purpose, a quarter of a million marks will be allotted annually from the state budget.

It should also be mentioned that within the framework of the aforementioned improvements in granting scholarships, also students' families with children, for whom they are vested with the right of education, received benefits. Undoubtedly this is a tangible improvement of their living conditions and will spur them on to study diligently and to achieve good performances in work in society.

Comrades, in further implementing our economic policy, we are relying on the socialist planned economy. Our more than 30-year experience indicates that with the aid of its advantages even the most difficult economic tasks can be solved in the interest of the people. Central state planning is one of the most valuable advantages of socialism. In the past few years we have more and more effectively succeeded in adjusting it to the requirements of the intensive development of our national economy.

The basis is and remains democratic centralism. As you know, large combines have been established in our country, and their scope of action has been expanded which at the same time required, and made possible, a higher quality of the central state planning. A concentration of the forces on the main directions of scientific-technical and economic work is thus even better combined with flexibility regarding new requirements.

Combines With Good Results

Today it can already be said that the overall positive results of our economy reflect to a large extent the work of our combines. Now there are better opportunities in the majority of these important economic units to reach the level of the advanced units. That was brought out clearly especially at the seminar-type exchange of experience of centrally-managed combines in Leipzig. Under the leadership of the ministers it is necessary to work even more purposefully to speed up this development.

This exchange of experiences altogether exerts a mobilizing effect on the mass movement and thus on the entire economic development in our country. I need only remind you of

the pledge of the directors general and the Central Committee party organizers of all combines to exceed the 1981 National Economic Plan by the equivalent of 3 days' production altogether, and in fact to do so essentially with saved material. The Politburo is firmly convinced that these promises will be fully kept.

A modern socialist economic structure opens wide possibilities. To fully utilize them now depends to a large extent on the quality of managers. It is decisive to bring the large collectives of people into active personal engagement and to displaying great initiative in line with the decisions of the 10th party congress. Our party has a large number of economic cadres who cope with their ambitious tasks with knowledge, experience and a militant spirit, not sparing any efforts. To prudently utilize and augment this valuable treasure requires the greatest attention.

Cost Planning Is Gaining Increasing Importance

Comrades, at present, endeavors are being made to perfect the balance sheets, which make it possible to introduce more material-technical safety in the economic process. Cost planning is also being improved. The development of prime production costs -- as we all know -- reflects in a condensed form how production expenditures are changing. While in the period 1976-1980, in the 5 years together a cost reduction by 4.1 percent was achieved, the cost reduction is now to amount to 3 percent annually until 1985. Thus cost planning is gaining increasing importance. Above all it is necessary to more closely link planning in terms of value with that in terms of materials. The necessary decisions have been made to ensure that the costs will be accounted for on the same basis as they were planned. If enterprises achieve genuine economic progress, they will derive greater benefit from that in the future, and vice versa. Especially in this sense, cost accounting has been made more effective. The changes of industrial prices are making expenditures visible where they can be best influenced by the working people. Practice has shown that this frequently provides an important impetus for operating more economically. Industrial prices will be further increased in line with the development primarily of genuine expenditures for raw materials and fuels.

In further implementing our party's economic strategy, we are relying on the million-fold active approval of the working people. This is reflected in their great readiness for performance. The leadership of our party and our state feels great respect for this attitude of our citizens. To promote this attitude must be the concern of everyone who bears any responsibility in the GDR. We consider this will to perform as one of the most essential achievements of real socialism and as a prerequisite for its further development.

Deepening of Economic Integration

The political events in our times confirm the people in their willingness to work to the best of their ability. They continually understand better how much depends on our republic's continuing to make a good and steady headway -- for every individual and his family, for our people, and indeed for peace on our continent. The word, "work", has a good reputation in our country. That is precisely why our plan figures are realistic and are being turned into reality year after year for the benefit of the people.

A special role in this respect is played by raising the level of collaboration of the socialist countries in CEMA. The 35th session of CEMA, which took place in Sofia in July this year, was fully marked by the decisions that were adopted by the recent party congresses of the fraternal parties to further deepen socialist economic integration. All member countries concurrently stressed that collaboration in science and production on the basis of the CEMA comprehensive program adopted 10 years ago has been substantially expanded. The CEMA session thoroughly analyzed the results of the coordination of the 1981-1985 5-year plans which contain the next tasks in this field.

Comrades, relying on the collaboration with the fraternal socialist countries, the GDR is participating in the worldwide international division of labor. This is being done on the basis of mutual advantage and at the same time benefits peaceful coexistence.

Long-lasting economic decline in most capitalist countries, convulsions in the monetary relations, double-digit inflation rates, record interest rates, decline in the stock market, foreign trade restrictions going as far as embargos -- all that has far-reaching effects on international trade, and our national economy, too, has to cope with these conditions. The U.S. high interest rate policy has effects not merely confined to the credit sector. It is profoundly affecting prices and inflation, and exerts an exacerbating effect on the economic crisis in the capitalist countries, with all their contradictions. That must be taken into consideration by us in every respect.

More Export Goods of Top Quality

Viewed against this background, the results of plan fulfillment in foreign trade, the achievements of the combines, enterprises and foreign trade enterprises deserve high recognition. It should be clear to anyone how important it is to cope with foreign trade tasks. Today we must say: Anything that is good for coping with the requirements of foreign economic relations, anything that is good for our foreign trade is of decisive importance for our entire national economy; that is, good for the GDR.

It is certainly justified to say: The competitive struggle in the world market has relentlessly become exacerbated. In constantly shorter intervals new products appear on the market. Hence it is important much more than in the past to utilize international experiences in this field and to make use of them ourselves.

It is becoming increasingly necessary to focus our long-term strategy even more consistently and purposefully on the problems in the foreign economic relations sector which have become more difficult. We still need many more top-quality export products. This places the highest requirements on industry and foreign trade, research and development, rationalization and investments, on the whole chain down to customer service and spare parts supply. Primarily we must always be aware that today more than ever the struggle for world market positions is partly already determined on the drawing board. Thus one's own performance is and remains the decisive factor.

Diligent Peasants' Work Has Been Worthwhile

Comrades, in our socialist agriculture we have also made good headway since the 10th party congress. With great personal commitment, noteworthy working results, many new activities and proposals the cooperative peasants and workers in agriculture and the working people in forestry and in the foodstuff industry are successfully implementing the party congress decisions. Until the end of October, the slaughter cattle production plan was fulfilled by 108 percent, milk by 100.9 percent and eggs by 107.2 percent. The meat production plan was overfulfilled with 155,283 tons, milk with 52,000 tons and eggs with 288 million units. The additional pledges adopted by the participants in the agra-seminar in their letter to the SED Central Committee were fulfilled.

The diligent work of the cooperative peasants and of the many helpers from other sectors in bringing in the harvest deserves recognition. As regards grain, we obtained a fairly good yield but did not fully reach the planned quantity. The potato harvest results are above plan and above the several-year average. The corn and fodder harvest was also good. As regards sugar beets, the harvesting of which is not yet completed, the yields so far exceed the plan and the several-year average. Moreover, we are expecting a good vegetable harvest.

It will to a considerable extent depend on the dynamic development of our agriculture how the fulfillment of the main tasks in the 1980's will be reliably ensured. The substantial performance increase in agriculture is a primary political task. In that field, too, we are facing challenges which can no longer be measured by the yardsticks of the past.

It is of vital interest for our republic to systematically increase the yields per hectare primarily in grain and fodder production, and thus step by step to reduce grain imports. What is involved here is the secure supply of the people and important raw materials for industry. These questions are of increasing significance

in the international class confrontation. Today the importance of the grain problem may well be compared with that of the oil problem.

Hence it is of decisive importance that substantial reserves are opened in socialist agriculture. For this, we are relying on the great opportunities inherent in cooperative ownership of the means of production, and on the initiative and energy of the cooperative peasants who have great knowledge and experience. Thus we do not belong to those who believe that through the transition to industry-type methods in agricultural production the class of cooperative peasants will disappear. On the contrary, their energies and abilities are to be brought to bear even more strongly in this manner. The 10th party congress has stipulated that the introduction of industry-type methods is to be continued and that the specialization of production is to be utilized in this process. Naturally this specialization must lead to higher crop and livestock yields, to a better input-output ratio.

For the LPGs and the plant production state farms it is necessary to supply animal production even better, if possible completely, with high-quality fodder. At the same time it is necessary to make fodder economy even more effective. In order to keep the livestock volume steadily at a high level, there is basically only one guarantee -- the quicker development of plant production, of our own fodder basis. For this it is primarily necessary to supply livestock in each region increasingly from the regional fodder production. All initiatives must be promoted that are aimed at properly tilling every square meter of soil and achieving the highest yields. Even more than before it is necessary to increase soil fertility through increasing application of organic fertilizers.

Cooperation Further Perfected

What is not sufficiently well utilized in our country is the grassland. Although some progress has been made in the past in this respect, the present state of affairs cannot satisfy us yet. Many peasants say that regarding pasture management and hay production we used to do better in the past than we are doing now. Actually, grassland amounts to 1/5 of our agricultural acreage. Hence its management influences the overall results to a considerable extent.

You will probably agree that the greatest reserves can be opened through a still closer collaboration of all partners who participate in the agricultural production process. This applies especially to plant and animal production. The higher quality, further perfecting cooperation, of the cooperation councils has become a key issue. Again and again the cooperative peasants stress that everything should be promoted that is apt to bring plant and animal production closer together, to increase their joint responsibility, and to create reliable foundations for this in the territories. It is of special importance to concentrate the economic interests of plant and animal producers on a higher effectiveness of animal production. All these questions will be codetermined by the peasants themselves -- in line with the policy we have always observed regarding important aspects of agricultural development.

There are quite a few new stimuli as well as interesting experiences. In view of the tasks we are now facing, it is necessary to examine with good judgement and farsightedness what proves useful and what does not. New steps will be taken unhurriedly and after thorough preparation. It is necessary to systematically look for ways to still better utilize the labor potential in agriculture and to increase responsibility for the soil. Some forms of territorial production organization that have meanwhile been successfully applied in many LPGs seem to be valuable in this connection. Closer links with the village, direct responsibility for the soil, more effective collaboration with the animal production LPGs, shorter distances, less transport expenditures -- such and other advantages speak for territorial production departments or brigades.

To Convene the 12th Peasants Congress in Berlin for May 1982

Comrades, in accordance with the stipulations of the 10th party congress, the SED Central Committee Secretariat has decided to convene the 12th GDR Peasants Congress for

13 and 14 May in Berlin. Sponsors of the peasants congress will be the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers, the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany [DBD] Executive Committee, the Peasants Mutual Aid Association [VDGB] Central Executive Committee, the FDJ Central Council and the GDR National Front National Council.

To prepare the 12th GDR Peasants Congress the cooperative peasants and workers, at their annual general meeting, will take stock of what has been achieved, and will discuss the tasks for 1982 and those contained in the 5-year plan until 1985. Here it is especially important to fix concrete measures for raising the yield per hectare.

Quite obviously the central issue in preparing for the peasants congress will be the performance development in agriculture -- from comprehensive rationalization of production with the aid of the latest scientific findings to perfecting cooperative relations. If we proceed from the fact that the number of LPGs which for many years in a row have achieved above-average and increasing yields and performances has considerably grown, then there is every reason for optimism.

The peasants congress will be prepared with a great, democratic discussion. This discussion can rely on the fact that our party's alliance policy and agricultural policy has now stood its test in life already for more than three decades, and on the fact that it was altogether possible only on the basis of this policy to develop a modern socialist agriculture which has always reliably ensured the population's supply with food and industry's supply with raw materials.

Science in the People's Service

Dear comrades, the Politburo has paid due attention to those tasks that are connected with the requirements of further intellectual-cultural development under socialism. This applies to scientists, the activities of the universities, colleges and technical schools, as well as cultural policy, the health service, physical culture and sports. Progress in all these fields is closely interrelated with all that we are doing to ensure and raise the people's material living standard.

A few days ago, together with Comrades Kurt Hager, Joachim Hermann, Guenter Mittag and Harry Tisch, members of the Politburo; and with Egon Krenz, candidate member of the Politburo, I visited the GDR Academy of Sciences to immediately acquaint ourselves with the most recent findings in the field of science and with future working facilities. The high appreciation of our party for the creative work of the scientists, which serves the people, was underscored during this visit. In the trustful talks, the members of the academy and the staff workers of its institutes and facilities expressed their full approval of our party's policy and declared their readiness to do everything possible for implementing the decisions of the 10th party congress. On behalf of the Central Committee I expressed our gratitude to Comrade Dr Werner Scheler, president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and to all members of the academy as well as to the staff workers.

Practical Education of Youth

The conferences of the public education aktivs held in all kreise were of a great political significance for preparing and opening the 1981-82 school year. The deliberations reflected the readiness of the teachers to contribute to strengthening our republic with all their might and, as convinced propagandists of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to convey the ideology of the workers class to the youths.

As the conferences have made apparent, the decisions of the 10th congress have touched off many initiatives of creative work among the teachers, educators and school officials. These are aimed at educating youths in such a manner that they continue the path trodden in the past resolutely and vigorously under the leadership of the party of the workers class, side by side with the older people.

Our kreis leaderships and school party branches, the principals and trade union leaderships should also effectively promote the teachers' efforts to enhance the quality

and effectiveness of their daily instruction and of their entire activities, and even more effectively bring to bear the potential of the public education system for a high, practical education of youth, for developing their class point of view and their politically effective activities. The "Open Letter to All GDR Teachers", issued jointly by the Ministry of Public Education, the FDJ Central Council and the Central Executive of the Trade Union of Teachers and Educators provides multifaceted incentives for all this.

We now are in the midst of the process of electing parents' representatives for 1981. After the conclusion of this great democratic action, in which more than 3 million parents have participated, more than 650,000 elected parents' representatives will cooperate in fashioning our school policy. During the elections many parents made it known that they regard our party's policy as a basic prerequisite for the prosperous and secure development of the family and children.

During many stimulative discussions, teachers and parents agreed on how, through closer cooperation, the children could be more and more effectively educated to become knowledgeable, politically persuasive shapers of socialism. The experiences, suggestions and proposals passed on in this connection as well as the declared readiness of the parents to even better use the advantages of the socialist educational system, and the favorable conditions for the education of children in the family, constitute evidence of genuine democratic cooperation. As previously in the 30 years of existence of the democratic parents' associations, the party will also see to it that the responsible activities of the elected mothers and fathers will be supported, promoted and appreciated by the socialist society.

Our Policy Is Upheld by the Entire People

Dear comrades, strengthening the socialist state is and remains the fundamental issue of the revolution for our party. The citizens of our republic know full well: There is no socialism without a strong and well-functioning state. Only such a state can safeguard the implementation of the basic interests of the workers class and of all working people, and ensure socialist democracy, freedom and humanity. The constructive cooperation of the citizens in the state leadership, their high personal commitment to solving economic and sociopolitical tasks, serves the people's well-being. We shall also resolutely repel all attacks against our socialist state and social system.

On 14 June 1981, the GDR citizens elected the deputies to the People's Chamber, the bezirk assemblies and the City Assembly of our capital of Berlin. The political-moral unity of our people was convincingly reaffirmed by the thus far largest participation in the elections and the clear vote of confidence in the candidates of the National Front. Thus the people's elections turned into an overwhelming avowal of the citizens in favor of socialism, the decisions of the 10th SED Congress, the further all-round strengthening of the worker-peasant power, and the consistent implementation of the unity of economic and social policy. The election returns prove the inviolable fraternal affinity of our people with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

The election movement and returns illustrate that our policy is supported by the entire people. It became evident as early as in the comprehensive, frank discussion with the citizens that the election appeal of the GDR's National Front, which was based on the decisions of the 10th party congress, expressed the interests of all classes and strata. The decisions of our party congress were understood as an action program for the next few years, as an instruction for action, and were accepted as such.

The activity of more than 1 million citizens in the election commissions and election boards, as well as election helpers, has shown that in our country the people themselves control the elections to the people's representations. The truly democratic nature of our elections also becomes manifest in the careful selection and examination of the candidates. It is a self-evident practice in our country that the candidates of the parties and mass organizations are checked in the work collectives before their nomination, and are proposed there. This is also where they give an account of their

past performance and future activities. This constitutes a good prerequisite for their subsequent activity closely related to life.

Deputies in Close Contact With Their Voters

Thus we have created favorable conditions for a high quality and efficiency of the newly elected people's representations, with the broad public preparations for the people's elections. This is last but not least reflected in the political and social composition, by the increased share of workers, the vast experience and the higher educational level of the deputies.

In our people's representations, adopting decisions, implementing them and verifying them form a unity. The deputies are the commissioners of their voters. They are responsible to the voters and regularly render account to them. All this requires a rational style of work which is close to the masses, and by means of which expert decisions are being brought about and implemented.

Through their daily work, through personal talks, meetings and consultations with the labor collectives and in the residential areas, the deputies are in close contact with the citizens. Maximum attention must be devoted to the proposals, suggestions and criticism submitted on such occasions. The deputies must see to it that all these are accurately processed by the responsible state organs, and that the citizens receive a convincing answer to their questions. It is important in close cooperation with the friendly parties, the mass organizations and the National Front committees to even better support the activity of the deputies, to further strengthen their authority and to exploit their vast experiences.

In decisions evaluating the 10th party congress and the elections, the Politburo arranged for a seminar-type conference of the Council of Ministers with the bezirk councils. At this seminar the further tasks related to implementing the party congress decisions were discussed, the best experiences in enhancing performance and effectiveness were transmitted and final conclusions for qualifying state leadership activities were drawn. The implementation of our party's economic strategy is taking precedence in state work.

The uniform execution of the decisions of the party and government constitutes the decisive yardstick. This is why the councils of the bezirke, kreise, cities and communities should intensify control over their execution and should see to it that their own responsibility is being fully asserted at all level of state leadership. We regard this as including an exemplary order, a high degree of discipline and security as well as the strict observance of socialist legality. All this meets with the support of the citizens who are asserting their rights and duties.

We regard promoting socialist communal work and territorial rationalization in all its forms as something that is very important for the local state organs. Activities must be centered on fulfilling the national economic plan.

Alliance Policy Stood Its Test in Life

Comrades! On 30 October the National Council of the GDR National Front elected Lothar Kolditz, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, as its new president upon the proposal of the Politburo and in complete agreement with the chairmen and the first secretaries of the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front. In the declaration of the president of the National Council, once again the will of the social forces united in the National Front is expressed to make an active, independent contribution toward implementing the policy of our party.

We note with satisfaction that the alliance of the workers class with the class of cooperative peasants, the socialist intelligentsia and all other working people has stood its test in life. In this the friendly parties, the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany, the CDU, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and the NDP have a valuable share. Our tested cooperation, which is characterized by mutual confidence, manifests

itself in multifaceted initiatives. This is also shown by the constructive proposals of the friendly parties for the directive of the 10th SED Congress on the 5-year plan for the development of the GDR national economy in 1981-85. We are unswervingly guided by the principle to provide every citizen, irrespective of his social strata, religious or ideological view, with the broadest possibilities for actively participating in shaping the developed socialist society. There are no doubts that our alliance policy will increase in importance in future.

The mass political work of the GDR National Front is characterized by significant progress. Its 17,500 committees exert a considerable influence on the political climate in our cities and communities. In their work, they can base themselves on the over 13 million signatures of the citizens to the GDR declaration of will to do everything to maintain peace and strengthen socialism.

The results which were achieved in the first 9 months of this year in the socialist competition "Beautify Our Cities and Communities -- Join In" are significant. The citizens contributed toward maintaining apartments by work worth M2.2 billion. That is M300 million more than in the period of the past year under review. Also, in preparing 97,000 apartments of older citizens, 82,000 rooms and facilities of the public education sector, the health and social welfare sector as well as in the cultural field, and in collecting 280,000 tons of scrap and 175,000 tons of waste paper from households, the results were better than in 1980. In fact, the national front with its initiatives proves to be a truly socialist people's movement.

Since the 10th Congress, 51,782 Candidates Have Been Admitted

Dear comrades! The Politburo paid constant attention to further strengthening the fighting strength of the SED and its ideological and organizational growth. As is known, this exercises a decisive influence on the fact that at any time our Marxist-Leninist party must meet its leading role, which objectively increases in all fields of the socialist society.

As we are able to note, the bezirk and kreis leaderships as well as the basic organizations, closely allied with the working masses, are making a valuable contribution toward implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. The level of political leadership work has also increased. This is above all expressed in the fighting programs which mainly concentrate on the key points of our economic strategy for the 1980's. Not a few things were done to increase the efficiency of agitation and propaganda. The same may be said for the improvement of work with the cadres.

Upon the proposal of the Politburo, meetings of the bezirk and kreis party aktivs were held in the period under review, which drew up a first balance sheet on the achievements since the 10th SED Congress, examined the results of party work in a businesslike way and became forums for the exchange of experience and future-oriented consultations on the next steps. A total of 140,000 party activists participated in them. Good progress was also achieved in the honorary party work with its manifold forms and methods. About 1.4 million comrades are fulfilling definite party assignments. Since the 10th SED Congress, 51,782 condidates have been admitted to our combat alliance, including 33,305 production workers.

Everywhere, where party work is determined by a fruitful exchange of views on the most effective ways to implement the tasks, the readiness of communists to do their best is increasing. Of great importance here is how the leaderships understand correctly utilizing and promoting the political and technical abilities of the comrades. Personal talks render excellent service for that.

As is well known, a person's own conviction is most effective if it is expressed in that person's own deeds, if words and actions coincide. To time and again display professional knowledge, to fear neither the size of tasks nor their difficulty, to relate to the working people attentively and with delicacy of feeling, to carefully heed their proposals and criticism, to bring to bear a worker's word -- all this should be typical of each party official, of each party member.

The working people will then display all the more confidence in the party and it will be all the more possible to implement the party decisions by joint efforts. This has been reaffirmed in life time and again. I would only like to cite as a current example the conferences of best workers and the conferences on intensification [Intensivierungskonferenzen] of the past few weeks.

To Solve Tasks With a Militant Spirit

Decisively helping to enhance economic strength is the fact that the party organizations are constantly promoting the awareness of political responsibility and the initiative of the leaders, and that they ensure firm combat positions of each leadership collective and of all communists. The bezirk leaderships should intensify their influence over the activity and political attractiveness of the combine party aktives, and of party secretaries' councils. More emphasis in the activities of basic organizations of the combine enterprises must be placed on orienting them toward developing performance and efficiency reserves.

The SED Rostock Bezirk leaders reported to the Politburo about "experiences in political mass work in assessing and implementing the decisions of the 10th party congress". One of the most essential conclusions resulting from this was that, in light of the successful development of the GDR and its consistent peace policy, the advantages and superiority of the socialist society must be illustrated even more conclusively. It is important at the same time to deepen the realization in all party and labor collectives that quite a few complicated tasks must be coped with on the stretch of road ahead of us. These tasks result from the exacerbation of the class conflict and the concomitant changes in the external economic conditions.

The political attractiveness of each basic organization, the degree of its influence over all working people within its scope of activity, are decisively determined by the fact that the comrades embark on solving tasks with a militant spirit and in a disciplined and reliable manner. For this, they need clear political orientation at the membership meetings as well as exact information about the situation in the collective, even about complicated problems.

The fighting strength of party organizations proves its worth when faced with high targets, and it particularly increases if people are not content with what has been achieved and also critically assess their own work results. The report of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership to the Politburo also gave evidence of this.

The bezirk and kreis leaderships should define, in plans for political work among the masses, the ideological key issues, including the forms and methods by means of which they will be presented to all strata of the population. In doing so, particular attention should be paid to regular, organized appearances of leading cadres of the party, state organs, mass organizations and of the economy, as well as to purposeful work with the agitators.

Ideological Work Is the Gist of Our Party's Activity

Comrades, ideological work has taken another upswing since our 10th party congress. A comprehensive study of the party congress documents was organized and a broad political work among the masses was developed in order to deliberate in talks with the citizens on the basic issues of our domestic and foreign policy, and to respond from a solid class position to all the events of our time, full of struggles.

The awareness has grown of the responsibility which everybody bears for strengthening socialism and securing peace. Proof of this is a series of important events in social life. I recall the powerful Mayday rallies in the capital and in the bezirk towns, the working people's manifestations on the 20th anniversary of the antifascist protective wall, the massive participation of Berliners in the traditional parade of the National People's Army on the national holiday on 7 October, the impressive FDJ peace rallies on Berlin's August Bebel Square and in Halle, the mass rallies in Berlin and other GDR cities on the day of struggle against fascism and war, at which NATO's policy of stepped

up armament was denounced and negotiations for arms limitation and disarmament were requested, and the giant rally of 110,000 Leipzig residents for peace and socialism on Karl-Marx-Square on the opening of the new Gewandhaus. The same thing applies to the vast peace rally at the site of the signing of the Potsdam agreement, as well as to the second action days of European youth for disarmament in Dresden, that city which symbolically exhorts people to resolutely defend peace.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the GDR's national interests and the fundamental aims of the international class struggle blend in our party's political and ideological activity. As Lenin taught, socialism must be effective through practice. The task of ideological work consists in making people aware of real socialism, of its gains and motives. Great importance attaches to understanding the national economic interconnections, the functioning of the economic laws of socialism under the specific conditions of our country. These have been expressed in the 10 key points of economic strategy which also determine the contents of economic propaganda.

All our experiences have confirmed that it is only on the basis of the generally applicable laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction that a revolutionary militant party can successfully wage the struggle for basic class interests and for social progress, at the head of the workers class and in alliance with all working people. We have always understood these laws as an objective criterion on whose basis all the "improvers" of socialism with their "models" of the "renewed socialism" resemble those people who during the Great October Socialist Revolution advocated Soviets without Bolsheviks.

We are working to implement our party's decisions under conditions that are open to the world. Through our ideological work we are mobilizing the members of all classes and strata for deeds to strengthen the socialist fatherland. In our country, educational work and imparting knowledge constitute a decisive prerequisite for successfully solving tasks, for further strengthening the party's fighting strength.

Ideological work is the gist of our party's entire activity. This work prepares the road which we are taking for the well-being of the people in developing the socialist society. And let us always think of the fact that the struggle for people's minds is the main field of struggle for the future of mankind.

Comrades, the "tasks and fashioning of the party study year for the years 1981-86" have been defined by the Politburo decision of 23 June 1981. A great effect on the struggle of the party organizations and of all communists has derived from the party aktiv meetings in the bezirke and kreise, which concurrently also opened the 1981-82 party study year. In this party study year, it is above all important to assimilate the theoretical and practical content of the decisions of the 10th party congress and to realize the consequences for their own work.

Marxist-Leninist training should enable each communist to always live up to the principle: "Where a Comrade Is, There Also Is the Party". This also includes enhancing the ideological level of events, closely linking study and discussion with the political, ideological tasks of party branches, and further consolidating the harmony of word and deed, of conviction, conscious attitude and disciplined work among the participants.

Mass Media Are Tools of Class Struggle

All this levels new demands on the more than 100,000 propagandists whose activities we highly value. It is with good reason that they let themselves be guided in their work by the fact that the increased political education and maturity of the communists and their experiences and higher intellectual demands require increasingly more from the propagandists' own activity. Last but not least they must also take into consideration that in the party study year many young comrades wish to acquire the vast combat experiences of our party.

The training and advanced training of cadres is being continued at the party's educational institutions on the basis on newly worked out teaching programs. Particular

attention must be devoted to the bezirk party schools and the kreis and enterprise schools of Marxism-Leninism, at which some 70,000 comrades have begun their studies this September. The training of such cadres is incumbent to a high degree on those who are capable of ensuring the political management of the social processes in all sectors.

The great responsibility of socialist journalists in the ideological class battle of our time is underscored in the decision of the Central Committee Secretariat on preparing and holding the 11th Congress of the GDR's Journalist Association. More than ever, the press, radio and television are worldwide combat tools in the hands of the forces of peace and socialism or in those of the imperialist reaction. This applies to a great extent particularly in those places where the two opposite social systems are immediately facing one another, and thus particularly here at Europe's center. This always requires from our journalists a solid class position in the service of the socialist revolution and a high knowledge of their craft as well.

When implementing the decisions of the 10th party congress our mass media should increasingly better prove to be forums of an exchange of social experiences. The press, radio and television with their specific means are assigned the task of graphically presenting the image of our republic, the progress in the cities and the countryside, and making people's motives for their creative actions to strengthen socialism, to solve problems which often are not simple, the common property of all. All this also comprises comprehensive reporting about the events of the revolutionary world process, a daily and effective coming to grips with imperialist policy and ideology as well as the gratification of the intellectual-cultural needs which agree with the high educational level and increasing demands of the citizens.

The Seventh Urania Congress has drawn important conclusions for the further enhancement of the quality and effectiveness of its popular scientific propaganda. The almost 50,000 natural and social scientists, engineers, physicians, teachers and cultural workers assembled in the Urania, unanimously displayed their determination to employ all their knowledge and skills for the implementations of our party policy.

The Responsibility of the Comrades in the Trade Unions

Dear comrades, the Central Committee Secretariat has determined the tasks of the bezirk and kreis leaderships and of the basic branches in preparing and holding the trade union elections. The elections that began on 2 November will climax with the 10th FDGB Congress in April 1982.

It depends largely on the work of the communists in the trade unions how the 9 million FDGB members make the consistent implementation of the policy stipulated by the 10th party congress a cause of their own. Efficient trade union work of a communist requires first and foremost a close affinity with the working people of his collective, persistent, convincing behavior, as well as a high readiness for action and an innovative spirit. Hence with his advice and deeds each comrade should help ensure that the trade unions assert their responsibility as the workers' greatest class organization, as a school of socialism and motor of the socialist competition, as a representative of the interests of the workers and employees.

The Politburo is able to note with pleasure that the appeal of the 10th party congress to the young co-shapers of the developed socialist society has elicited a broad response. Making the purpose in life of the communists one's own, is more and more becoming the leading motif for the thoughts and actions of our country's young generation.

Since our party possesses a Marxist-Leninist program, and since it is setting forth tasks for the present that are in the working people's interests and understandable for everybody and it is pointing out secure prospects for the communists' future, the youth has confidence in it, and endorses its policy. This is why youth stands in the front ranks of those people who are struggling for our policy. Ever again new strugglers are growing out of the GDJ's ranks who are taking up the revolutionary banner of our party, are developing the gains of their fathers and mothers and are defending them.

The Youth's Great Contribution for the Capital

This was impressively shown at the 11th FDJ Parliament which, after the 10th party congress, deliberated on the tasks of the youth federation in continuing the socialist revolution in the GDR. The Politburo assessed the Parliament as an important social event and adopted measures for evaluating the outcome, above all measures in support of the mass movement "FDJ Assignment 10th Party Congress". In doing so the party leaderships focused attention on trustful talks with youth about topical political events and the national economic tasks.

After our 10th party congress and the 11th FDJ Parliament the youth assumed additional tasks related to mastering science and technology. In this field new youth projects in microelectronics and the construction of industrial robots must be mentioned, as well as the results of the "Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow" movement. Every state executive should also in the future promote youth's thirst for knowledge and should hand over to it more youth projects, chiefly from the plan for science and technology.

The initiative "Everybody With a Fine Balance Sheet Every Day", which was launched by the "Hans Kiefert" Youth Brigade of the Berlin underground construction combine at the FDJ rally on the 10th party congress had a mobilizing effect. It has enhanced the fighting strength of the youth brigades and has influenced many other work collectives. We should keep an eye everywhere on promoting this competition of the youth brigades.

The report of youth brigades of the "FDJ Berlin Initiative" on the fifth anniversary of this central youth project showed with what enthusiasm the young generation is committing itself to implementing our party's policy.

The great contribution of our country's youth, above all of the more than 14,000 youths working in Berlin, to the further development of our capital of Berlin as a political, economic, scientific and cultural center became obvious.

The involvement of the FDJ members in Berlin shows the readiness of our youth to make sacrifices for their socialist fatherland and helps, particularly among those working far away from their immediate homes, to forge cadres on which our party can depend at any time.... "The participation in the rally of the youth brigade leaders of the 'FDJ Initiative Berlin' at the SED Central Committee House," Comrade Peter Schlegel wrote, "was a great experience for me and my colleagues.... for me these bare 5 years of the 'FDJ Initiative Berlin' have been the most beautiful years in my professional life as a bricklayer. I have been back at home with my family for 3 weeks. I have been happily married since 1975 and have a 5-year old son. We are expecting another child in 6 weeks. I miss my colleagues in Berlin very much but I think that things will also move here in Rochlitz Kreis." That much from Comrade Peter Schlegel's letter.

As the course of the FDJ and Pioneer Council elections proves, the party leaderships always support the Socialist Youth League and the Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer organization by words and deeds. It further remains a young comrade's most important assignment to actively work in the FDJ.

The Central Committee Secretariat approved the concept of the Democratic Women's League of Germany [DFD] for preparing and holding the elections as well as the 11th Federal Congress of Women's Organizations in March 1982. This concept envisages that the DFD will strive even more strongly than in the past to enlist women of all strata of the population in the social life of the residential areas. We expect that our party leadership will effectively support the women's organizations in this effort.

Party Elections in March/April 1982

Dear comrades, the Politburo is submitting to the third Central Committee Session the draft resolution, on the basis of the party statutes and the Central Committee election regulations, to hold the accountability reports and elections of the party group organizers and of their deputies, of the leaderships of the

party branch organizations as well as of the leaderships of the party organizations that are not subdivided into party branch organizations, in the period between 1 March and 17 April 1982, with the bezirk and kreis party leaderships being fully responsible for this. The leading party organs have the duty to create all the appropriate political, cadre and organizational prerequisites to ensure that the party elections in the more than 89,000 party groups, 23,000 party branch organizations and 52,000 basic organizations result in a further enhancement of the party's fighting strength and of the activity of each communist and in even more closely fashioning our party's relations with the masses.

At the party elections each basic organization will examine how the decisions of the 10th party congress have been implemented thus far. On this basis all basic organizations should define their tasks and aims for the further strengthening of our socialist GDR.

Dear comrades, when our 10th congress staked out the next stretch of the road for the eighties, we realized that the tasks are not easy. Under the changed international conditions the struggle for peace and socialism is leveling higher demands. But we can meet them also in the future with the strength of our united and serried party, with the confidence among the people on which we are able to lean and with the creative vigor and initiative of all working people. We are firmly convinced of this.

Fischer Statement

AU251341 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21/22 Nov 81 pp 7-8

["From" the discussion statement of Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee member and GDR minister of foreign affairs, at the Third SED Central Committee Session in Berlin on 19 and 20 November -- exact date not given]

[Text] Dear comrades, in the Politburo report Comrade Erich Honecker has proved with equally fundamental and convincing arguments that despite the growing dangers resulting from the imperialist confrontation and armament course, despite the highly complicated nature and magnitude of the tasks before us to safeguard peace, we can confidently march forward.

In fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, together with the other socialist states, and in close collaboration with the liberated states of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the GDR has all the prerequisites not only to master the problems connected with further shaping the developed socialist society, but at the same time to live up to its growing share in the responsibility for solving the vital questions of our era.

Our Strength Lies in the Firm Alliance with the Soviet Union

The Politburo report conveys an impressive picture showing with what a wealth of ideas and initiatives the GDR people, headed by the communists, are implementing the course of the 10th party congress. The already achieved results prove that the ambitious objectives of our social development are realistic, and that the strategy worked out by the party to attain these objectives is correct, although -- as Comrade Erich Honecker explained -- they can only be implemented, in view of the changed international conditions, through an improvement of our work in the decisive sectors of our society's life.

It is important for our citizens' readiness for performance to learn day after day that socialist enriches their lives and reliably safeguards their existence. That is also of importance abroad. Owing to its internal development and to its reliable peace policy, the GDR is a respected state.

It is a stable main pillar of socialism in Europe, a pillar whose supporting capacity is uncontested. We feel and bear the greatness of the responsibility imposed on us as a firm member of the community of socialist states by our commitment to do everything for strengthening the forces of socialism, everything for consolidating their unity and

cohesion. The strength of the socialist states lies in their unity, in their firm alliance with the Soviet Union. From this unity comes the strength to safeguard peace and to change the world. Our successes are ultimately the best -- because they are irrefutable -- propaganda for the superiority and victoriousness of socialism in times when imperialist politicians, in the interest of intensified armament, unabashedly call for even greater sacrifices by the population and attempt in vain to divert attention from their crisis-ridden system by prattling about a bankruptcy of socialism.

The better we implement the policy of the main task and proceed accordingly, the more favorable will be the prerequisites for achieving our foreign policy aims. It is equally true that with the growing economic capacity which the GDR can bring to bear internationally, new important potentials will become available for implementing its economic strategy for the 1980's.

What results can be achieved has been emphatically proved by the official visits of Erich Honecker to Austria, Japan and Mexico.

The talks of our Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman as a state visitor abroad or as the host in the GDR give evidence of the will and ability of the socialist German state to actively work for continuing and deepening the so necessary international dialogue.

The Most Aggressive NATO Circles Are Striving for Military Superiority

An important if not the decisive task of the 1980's lies in constantly safeguarding the existing approximate balance of forces in the world at a lower arms level. What is necessary is to develop the European postwar order, whose recognition through treaties we were able to achieve in the 1970's, into a secured peace order that will extend beyond the turn of the millenium.

The most aggressive NATO circles want to prevent this as long as they think it might be possible. They are making every effort to win military superiority through a large-scale mobilization and concentration of all resources, to be able to turn back the wheel of history.

Only the consistent Soviet peace initiatives, the pressure of the international public and last but not least the realistic forces that are seeking an understanding have forced imperialism to the conference table. However, it must not be permitted that prominent imperialist circles -- as they seem to intend according to every indication thus far -- use negotiations to lull and eventually deceive the world public, through which they hope to gain time for armament. That characterizes their tactics in international organizations, and in this manner they sabotage work in the Geneva Disarmament Committee as well as results at the Vienna negotiations about the reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe, negotiations that have now been going on for over 8 years.

At the Madrid meeting, too, the most aggressive imperialist forces are blocking any progress.

Struggle Against Plans of Imperialism Activates Millions

The need for a consistent struggle results both from the fateful imperialist misjudgement of the balance of forces and the resulting readiness for adventure, and from the determination of the most aggressive circles to implement their own world domination plans with every means at their disposal -- including nuclear weapons.

And this all-round and long-term strategy is by no means merely an expression of clumsy tactics. To assume this would indeed mean to underrate the threat.

As was stressed at the conference of Central Committee secretaries in Moscow, it remains an important political and ideological requirement to unmask this dangerous imperialist course and not to allow any illusions to develop about the imperialist intentions.

Meanwhile it is obvious that it is no longer only the communists who, alerting the public, warn against this dangerous course and demand resolute countermeasures.

The mass demonstrations that were held recently are a millionfold proof of that. With the growing realization of the acute danger to peace, the breadth and ideological multifacetedness of this peace movement are growing. To banish death by nuclear weapons -- that is today the common, the most general common denominator which activates millions of people. War and armament are no longer accepted by the masses as unavoidable.

At present imperialism is waging a hardly surpassable, unprecedented slander campaign against the Soviet Union, against socialism altogether. Its threatening and power-demonstrating gestures are strongly reminiscent of the era of Emperor Wilhelm -- so as not to name any other era as an example here; that has already been mentioned in the Politburo report. At that time the demand for a "worldwide reputation" [weltgeltung] was raised with saber-rattling. Today one hears the same thing. However, with their policy of strength and total deterrent they have probably sounded the war trumpet too loudly and have pilloried themselves before the whole world. That accounts for the latest demagogical utterance that the West could not disarm one-sidedly. However, such one-sided disarmament is demanded from the Soviet Union, from the socialist states.

Why has the one-sided withdrawal of Soviet troops and tanks from the GDR remained without appropriate response? This signal for practical steps toward disarmament was certainly one that could not be overlooked. With the strict refusal by the United States, for example, to ratify the SALT II treaty the very opposite has been demonstrated.

However, we are no longer living in the era of sabers and cannons but on mountains of nuclear weapons whose use only recently was again described as possible -- also its limited use, confined to Europe.

And even if there are some who assert that the peace movement basically has no importance whatsoever, it is nevertheless a real force. And it is cutting right across capitalist society itself.

In many states there is concern, growing along with the deteriorating international situation, about whether it is possible to maintain the course of peaceful cooperation. Our initiatives and those of other socialist states are encouraging hesitant people to take concrete steps, also in bilateral relations or at the mentioned negotiations in Geneva, Vienna or Madrid.

Off and on, Western politicians are trying to advise us that we should not let ourselves be deceived, that the peace front could not be monopolized by the East. We can only recommend to these "advisers" not to deceive themselves regarding the potency of the peace forces in their countries. The latest trick with zero option shows to what extent the peace movement worries the advocates of intensified armament.

The socialist countries were and are for general and total disarmament, based on equal rights and equal duties and guaranteeing equal security. However, that is not what the imperialist circles want. What they sell as so-called "zero option" would be a one-sided changing of the military equilibrium. Moreover, the relevant U.S. Senate committee, almost simultaneously with the Reagan speech, has approved substantial financial allotments for the construction of a nuclear attack bomber.

Our Alternative to the Confrontation and Armament Course

The need of the hour demands:

-- Strengthening the GDR in all fields, as has been repeatedly declared here;

-- Pointing out even more emphatically the dangers entailed by NATO's endeavors to acquire a position enabling it to carry out a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union without risk, and to limit the thus unleashed nuclear war to Europe;

-- Convincingly propagating our alternative to the continuing confrontation and armament course, an alternative which -- because it is realistic -- will mobilize the forces. The direction for that is shown by the peace program of the socialist states, also of our party.

Proposals of Good Will on the Conference Table

The really existing socialism as the main force of peace cannot be "contained", "rolled back" or "weakened or ruined through armament". The struggle for consolidating peace and international security is and will remain the main direction of its influencing the international situation.

The international development shows that life has been breathed into the ideas and proposals formulated by the CPSU, and SED and the other fraternal parties at their party congresses. Reason and good will to solve all -- even the most complicated -- questions at the conference table are emanating from socialism.

It has always been the USSR, socialist countries, communists who advocated an improvement of the international climate. As the coming visit of L.I. Brezhnev to the FRG proves, it is also they who are actively seeking to preserve the East-West dialogue and, wherever possible, to invigorate it.

That will succeed only in a tough struggle with those forces which want to tear down the bridges of international understanding and collaboration and to destroy the painstakingly established bonds of peaceful coexistence. It is virtually a characteristic feature of our state that it consistently attaches great importance to keeping open the channels for talks and to the continuous political dialogue between representatives of different social systems. In this manner, distrust can be reduced, understanding can be created for the other side's interests, and eventually the necessary trust can be established. And this, in turn, is the prerequisite for coping with the basic questions of any development, in other words, the lowering of the danger of war and the promotion of fruitful international cooperation. This is the prerequisite for solving controversial international problems and for developing good bilateral relations. This also, and particularly, applies to relations with the FRG.

The constantly growing strength of socialism, of the forces of peace and progress today, makes them quite capable of foiling the imperialist plans for a nuclear war and of restricting the scope for military adventures.

Inspired by our party's decisions, our country's citizens are accomplishing great achievements in this struggle, because they are accomplishing great achievements for the stability and strengthening of the GDR. Thus we are living up to our share in the responsibility borne by our party, by the GDR people, by every individual for preserving peace for us and for coming generations.

Naumann Speaks

AU251515 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21/22 Nov 81 p 5

["From" the speech by Konrad Naumann, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, at the Third SED Central Committee Session in Berlin on 19 or 20 November]

[Excerpt] Dear comrades, the developments referred to by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, in the report of the Politburo, initiated in implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and achieved in our work underscore that the course of our party is also proving its worth under the exacerbated conditions of the international class struggle, and that it serves the cause of peace.

The stepped-up intensified armament policy and policy of confrontation pursued by the United States and NATO, as well as its adventurous and irresponsible nature, emphatically prove the assertion of the 26th CPSU congress that "now there exists for our people no

more essential and important problem than the preservation of peace, ensuring the prime right of every man, the right to live." All this underscores the importance of the role of the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress and of our 10th party congress for the fateful questions of mankind in the eighties.

We Communists Advocate the Most Just Cause in the World

We uphold the most just cause in the world: peace and socialism. This obliges us to be decisive and resolute.

The eagerness with which the FRG rulers are pushing NATO's long-term program and the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe is not forgotten. It is only too well understandable that the seriousness of the international movement is stirring people up. It is our task, however, contrary to the irresponsible anti-Soviet and war-hysterical imperialist propaganda to point out to people the road toward securing world peace. Daily political work among the masses confirms precisely this: The firm confidence of communists in the strength of the Soviet Union and the community of socialist states, in the continuation of the world revolutionary process and the growth of a broad anti-imperialist peace movement, as well as their awareness of their own strength, operate as important stabilizing factors in the struggle for preserving and securing peace.

As a firm element of the socialist fraternal alliance the GDR, by consistently implementing the decisions of the 10th party congress, aims its forces at such a comprehensive strengthening of the country and particularly of its material-technical base as the peace movement requires. This comprises an adequate intellectual-cultural attitude and requires the party's constant trusting consultation with the people about solving all those problems which result from the further exacerbation of the internationally waged class struggle and which extend from raw material supplies to the national economy to national defense.

The changed conditions openly explained by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of our party, in the Politburo report, will even more effectively aim our offensive political and ideological work among the masses at comprehensively fulfilling the national economic plan for 1981, including the undertaken obligations, and will combine this work with ensuring and exceeding the tasks planned for 1982.

UN Representative's Report

AU251528 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21/22 Nov 81 p 15

["From" the speech of Peter Florin, member of the Central Committee, deputy minister of foreign affairs and permanent GDR representative to the United Nations, at the Third SED Central Committee session on 19 or 20 Nov]

[Text] Dear comrades, the course of the 36th UN General Assembly fully confirms comrade Erich Honecker's assessment of the international situation and of its development.

In the general debate 145 representatives, including heads of state, premiers and 117 foreign ministers took the floor. Predominant was the deep concern about the exacerbation of the international climate and the increasing danger of war in connection with the arms race, caused and fanned by NATO and particularly the United States; with Washington's decision on the mass production of neutron nuclear weapons; with Washington's refusal to grant security guarantees to the nuclear-free states; with the doctrines of "military superiority", "first strike capacity", and "limited employment of nuclear arms"; as well as with the declaration of the most varied regions of the world to be "spheres of interest" of a great power which is determined to intervene there with military means. The overwhelming majority of state representatives know full well wherein lie the causes of such a development at the beginning of the eighties and who is responsible. The influence is being felt of the mass movements for peace which express the peoples' determination to halt the imperialist arms race and to consolidate peace.

The demand was very strongly endorsed that the arms race be halted, that armaments be limited, that the detente process be continued and so was the demand for negotiations and a constructive dialogue. The announcement of forthcoming negotiations between the USSR and the United States on problems of limiting nuclear weapons in Europe was generally welcomed.

First Employment of Nuclear Weapons Is the Most Serious Crime Against Humanity

The Soviet Union and the other socialist states came to the 36th General Assembly with a comprehensive program of constructive proposals which contain both already known ideas and new initiatives. They involve problems related to disarmament, the detente process and the strengthening of peace and security in general.

Since the main issue of the present times is the elimination of the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, the Soviet Union, as is well known, has submitted the proposal that the General Assembly should solemnly proclaim in a declaration that he who first uses nuclear weapons commits the most severe crime against humanity and should never be forgiven. Doctrines which envisage a first nuclear strike are incompatible with human morality and the ideals of the United Nations; the nuclear arms race shall be halted and nuclear power shall only be used for peaceful purposes for the well-being of mankind.

This proposal speaks for itself; the road and the aim are clearly defined and the GDR delegation supports it in every possible way. The GDR delegation in turn particularly strives for decisions which concern the conducting of serious negotiations about arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of equality and undiminished security. A GDR draft resolution appeals to the Geneva disarmament committee to begin without delay negotiations on concluding a convention on banning the manufacture, storage, deployment and use of neutron nuclear weapons.

U.S. Attempts at Interference With "Cold War" Methods

First, the U.S. representatives tried to divert the General Assembly's attention from the main issues but soon shifted to the methods of the "cold war" which were a heavy burden on the work of the plenum and of the committees.

The U.S. allies did not follow the rude tone of the United States. They are trying to appear in a better light and probably responsible quarters in one or another of the states allied with the United States have recognized the danger which stems from Washington's current policy. Differences in the positions, which should not be underrated, are distinguishable with respect to regional conflicts. Nevertheless I must unfortunately note that an analysis of the objective statements does not indicate any forward-looking initiatives, above all in the field of disarmament.

Despite the difficulties caused time and again by the imperialist and hegemonist circles the 36th General Assembly will contribute with a series of resolutions to preparing the General Assembly's second special session on disarmament in 1982.

Together with the socialist states, many African, Asian and Latin American states are denouncing the continuous massive violation of human rights by the terror of imperialism, colonialism and racialism. Reference was made in part, to Israel's ravages in the occupied Arab territories, to the crimes of the South African racist regime, the terror in El Salvador and in Chile as well as to the support for the most reactionary dictatorial regimes by influential quarters of the main imperialist countries. The duplicity of imperialist policy was proven by examples.

The GDR's 2-year membership in the Security Council, the highest UN organ, ends on 31 December this year. The general line of our party, as defined at the party congresses and subsequent Central Committee plenums, was a reliable compass for the activity of the GDR delegation. On this basis and in agreement with the concerted foreign policy of the socialist community of states, the GDR delegation, side by side with the USSR, has consistently advocated that the Security Council adopt decisions which, in keeping with the provisions of the UN Charter, agree with its peace-securing main task.

GDR Membership in the Security Council Strengthened Its Prestige

The GDR's membership in the Security Council reflected its great prestige in international relations and has in turn also contributed to the further strengthening of the authority of the socialist German state. The positive balance sheet for our republic results of necessity from the fact that, in accordance with its unwavering policy of peace and socialism, the GDR has always stood at the side of those states and peoples which were victims of the policy of aggression and intervention of imperialist and hegemonist forces or from which national independence and the assertion of their right to self-determination are still being withheld. The unreserved support for the national liberation movements such as the PLO, SWAPO [South West African People's Organization] and the ANC [African National Congress], as well as for the just struggle of the Latin American patriots was one of the outstanding characteristics of the GDR's activities in the Security Council. Hence the delegation -- next to the USSR -- was a standing partner for consultations of the national liberation movements in asserting their national rights. Repeatedly, gratitude was expressed to the GDR for its unreserved support. The fact that the GDR twice held the office of chairman of the Security Council elicited general recognition because in doing so it was demonstrated in a specific manner how the GDR feels obliged to the Charter of the United Nations and to that organization of states and to its constructive policy.

I would like to note in conclusion that naturally the UN organization does not stand outside of the international conflict and that its efficiency is effective to the extent to which the overwhelming majority of the member states oppose the adventurous imperialist circles that are hostile to peace and endorse the implementation of the noble obligations which have been incorporated in the UN Charter, this basic law of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation.

Cottbus Bezirk Secretary

AU251503 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21/22 Nov 81 p 5

["From" the speech by Werner Walde, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership, at the Third SED Central Committee Session in Berlin on 19 or 20 November]

[Excerpt] Dear comrades, 7 months are time enough to be able to state with certainty: The decisions of the 10th party congress have also elicited great and unreserved approval among the workers class and the other working people in Cottbus Bezirk. Proof of this is their attitude toward the decisions of the 10th party congress and their acts to implement these decisions.

Great Confidence in Our Good Course

What is characteristic of the ideological situation in the bezirk? Above all there is great confidence shown in our policy in the foreign and domestic fields. It is true though that in view of the imperialist policy of intensified armament quite a few citizens are increasingly concerned and worried about the problem of whether peace can be preserved. But this is a problem supported by responsibility and confidence in the strength of socialism, a problem free of panic. And as a rule this problem is being linked with the correct conclusion of enhancing one's own contribution toward strengthening socialism, the most important peace force.

The imperialist lie of the "threat from the East" has no effect on the citizens, and the enemy has no chance with the phrase of the so-called "peace service" to close ranks against the necessary military strengthening of socialism, regardless of who might call for such actions which are hostile to peace, socialism and the constitution. In doing so, there people forget that our entire republic is a social peace service. Obviously the opponents of socialism underrate -- as they often have in the past -- the political awareness, the commonsense and the experience of GDR citizens with socialism and many of them also with imperialism. It is precisely because of this that the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the extensive foreign policy activities of the GDR are being highly appreciated, particularly the activities of our Comrade Erich Honecker.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPEECHES REPORTED

LD292254 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Nov (PAP) -- Below are excerpts from some speeches delivered yesterday during the plenary debate of the 6th PUWP CC Plenum.

Wladyslaw Baka, minister, government's plenipotentiary for the economic reform, noted that the closer the introduction of the reform, the more doubts and fears about it. Impatience occurs as many things concerning it are still not clear.

Baka further said that the laws on enterprises and self-government have created a foundation for the restructuring of the economic system, and are irreversible.

He informed that the Council of Ministers will soon complete work on a whole package of laws and instructions which will define the reform's shape. The way and schedule of solving concrete problems linked with the reform will decide whether the party and government will regain credibility and public support, and whether the disintegration of social bonds will be stopped.

The speaker said that the consultations of the draft reform documents had borne fruit in many modifications and amendments, amounting to about 40 percent of the texts. Solidarnosc, in giving its opinion on these draft documents, produced a generally negative assessment. However, with respect to many detailed problems, there are many precious remarks which can be taken into account.

Wladyslaw Baka said Solidarnosc thinks that discussion of these documents should be continued, whereas the government side is of the opinion that such discussion cannot be prolonged indefinitely, as that results in irreparable losses.

At the same time the government appealed to the Solidarnosc negotiating group to further cooperate in perfecting the documents connected with the reform. Baka said that it is the government's assumption that without support and the understanding of things by Solidarnosc, the implementation of the reform would be extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible. The government thinks that the great masses of Solidarnosc members are interested in the reform responding to social expectations and the principles of the system. They want it to be a good reform.

The introduction of the reform will be a very difficult process. There will probably occur a kind of shock, said Wladyslaw Baka. People must get used to the phenomenon of socialist enterprises going bankrupt, which is assumed by the principle of self-financing. These and other fears concerning, for instance employment, produce resentment towards the reform. There is, however, no other remedy for our economy than deep economic reform.

The speaker concluded by reminding that changing of regulations itself will not bring about anything, unless they are accompanied by hard work.

Referring to the economic reform, the finance minister, Marian Krzak, said that the tax system contained in the draft of the reform provides an annual budget revenue of about 1 billion 100 thousand million zlotys, whereas the planned budget expenditure for next year is estimated at 1 billion 700 thousand million zlotys. Thus the system does still not provide for the full coverage of budget spending mainly on social care, culture and food industries.

Many factories, the speaker continued, think that a unified national taxing scheme is unjust, as there are many plants which are underinvested and have a low profitability rate. On the other hand there [are] also those which have a high profitability rate and benefit from central investments. Finally, the pricing system, too, is not always objective.

The chances of various enterprises will be levelled by the fact that plants of low profitability will have to pay a lower tax. The average tax rate on the national scale will not exceed 50 percent.

The economic reform and the system of self-financing should create conditions favourable for enterprises earning means for their own development by rationalizing, improving production efficiency, economizing.

There is a chance that at enterprises will have a more or less similar or equal starting conditions. [sentence as received] There exist however no miraculous means of overcoming the crisis. The only way to do it is through hard, persistent, sensible work. Minister Krzak [passage indistinct] prices of foreign trade, said that the assumptions of the planning commission concerning the volume of foreign trade in 1982 are sceptically (?viewed by) many. The prognosis at the Institute of Market Situation and Prices show that if the present tendencies in production continue, in the next two years stagnation may persist or there may be a fall in the value of Polish exports to hard currency markets, where most of our debt is concentrated and from where commodities of vital importance for the supplies in the country are imported.

For years now, the high dependence of industrial production on imported supplies has persisted in the Polish economy. Industries producing consumption goods and those industries which produce goods for export to Western countries rely in two thirds of their supplies on imports from these countries. In such circumstances the existing possibility of getting (?a trade surplus) with socialist countries, and especially with the Soviet Union, is of extreme importance for Poland. Those possibilities should be assessed realistically, i.e., one should take into account the growing (?trend) of our socialist partners to gradually balance the trade turnover according to general principles.

In view of such a strong reliance of industrial production on imports, the persisting decrease in supplies from abroad will put Poland next year and in the following years in the position of having to lower the national income by more than a dozen percent.

The speaker (?professed) that sensible and at the same time bold moves are needed with respect to the economic reform. Economic incentives are of particular importance for increasing exports.

Jan Knapik, the chemical and light industry minister, said the government's decision to raise the price of fuels is still arousing heated, often emotional and demagogic discussion, and opinions are still divided.

Making its final decision, the government accepted that in the present situation and in view of the forecasts for next year, economic means of balancing the market must be found. Increasing crude oil imports would mean, among others, restrictions on food purchases.

It is true, Knapik confirmed, that the price of petrol will probably still have to rise.

General-Brigadier Kazimierz Stec, CC member and chief of the voivodship staff in Wroclaw, presented the assessment of the first stage of the local army operational groups' activities. He said that these groups were warmly received by the public, and the effectiveness of their actions gained them particular praise and respect. (?Their) activities resulted in the general improvement of the social atmosphere, aroused hopes in the government programme of overcoming the crisis and easing its effects. Convincing proof and opinions were gathered confirming the fact that the society desires order to prevail in the country, and expects the authorities to take appropriate actions.

There were, however, attempts at discrediting the soliders' work by political opponents and enemies, in their number also activists of Solidarnosc. Particularly vehement attacks were conducted by Farmers' Solidarnosc.

It is a common opinion of all the operational groups that making social (?conditions) in the countryside sounder is also hampered quite "effectively" by some workers of local administration, service and supply institutions. Informal ties, indolence, organizational paralysis, the incompetence of clerks (who are often Solidarnosc members) discourage people and strengthen prejudices against any authority.

The striking weakness and often also incompetence of some local administrative units, indicate the need to review the personnel at this level. The style of exercising power must be improved and decision-makers of all levels must be made more sensitive to the problems of the working people.

LE MONDE: JARUZELSKI TO SUSPEND RIGHT TO STRIKE

PM301441 Paris LE MONDE in French 29-30 Nov 81 p 1, 3

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "General Jaruzelski Again Demands Legislation Banning Strikes"]

[Text] Warsaw -- On Friday, 27 November, General Jaruzelski announced to the Central Committee that the Politburo has instructed the government to start legislative proceedings making it possible for the Sejm to temporarily suspend the right to strike.

If this categorical statement were really followed up in practice the government would face not only a trial of strength with Solidarity but also an unprecedented crisis within the party.

At the end of last month, after the fourth plenum had already "instructed" party deputies to act in this direction, the democratic party, most "independent" deputies and the Catholic groups represented in parliament opposed this plan. In order to prevent a vote from showing the PZPR's political isolation and polarizing a minority but legal parliamentary opposition, and also in order to preserve the chance of an agreement with the trade union, the first secretary made do with merely calling for an end to the strikes -- an appeal unanimously supported by the Sejm.

By going back into the fray now the government would encounter the same resistance as before and, at the same time, General Jaruzelski would abruptly halt the current negotiations on the drafting of a "national accord." These negotiations were started by his meeting with Mr Walesa and Mr Glemp on 4 November. This would, therefore, be a personal failure for the first secretary and also for all factions in the party because, in this possible confrontation, Solidarity would have the best role -- which could, in addition, prevail and enjoy support in the Sejm.

This statement, which is particularly surprising since the social climate is at present only disturbed by one strike -- the students' strike -- was not mentioned in the reports on the plenum given by the Polish Press Agency, radio and television. Only foreign correspondents, whose dispatches are immediately rebroadcast by the Western radios' Polish programs, were informed. Indeed, all the indications are that this was a new warning shot which nobody yet wanted to dramatize.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that the possibility of a real tougher line cannot be ruled out for at least two reasons. The sixth plenum, which was to be solely devoted to economic issues, in fact changed its purpose after the unexpected presentation of a report on the implementation of the fourth plenum's decisions by Politburo candidate member Mokrzyszczak. The fourth plenum was the one at which Mr Kania, strongly criticized for his "lack of firmness," was forced to resign. His successor, whose policy arouses no enthusiasm among the party's "diehards," apparently had reason to believe that he was threatened with a similar offensive.

The "report" by Mr Mokrzyszczak consisted primarily of a long list of the measures taken against the antisocialist forces.

It states that on 24 November the leadership issued a stern warning against attempts to prevent party activity in the enterprises; that the restoration of control over the press is too slow and will be speeded up; that 370 judicial investigations for "antisocialist activities" have been started, giving rise to 92 changes being brought and 19 people being found guilty in the lower courts; that 337 people have received "warnings" about the penalties for their actions; that 35 "so-called political parties" are being "monitored," and also that the founding meeting of the new movement formed by Mr Kuron was broken up by the police.

This document ends with the following sentences: "Comrades, we know that you are leveling much criticism at us, among other things for our lack of consistency, the conflicts, the shortcomings in defending cadres and the lack of information given to party organizations. You discussed this during the Central Committee members' seminars which took place in the presence of General Jaruzelski and other members of the leadership.... We accept these remarks which the Politburo and Secretariat consider very valuable...."

This plea before the session did not prevent the ensuing speeches from being very tough, or the adoption at the end of the day of a motion calling for discussion to be organized within seven regional groups. It was after a discussion held in the same circumstances that Mr Kania was forced to ask for the vote of confidence, which he lost.

General Jaruzelski has probably not reached that stage yet, but he has already been forced to make a considerable concession to the "hardliners" with his statement on the suspension of the right to strike. In the near future his position or, at least, his policy, is likely to be seriously threatened if the establishment of the national accord, to which he is committed, proves unattainable. From this viewpoin' it is worrying that the negotiations started to this end on 17 November between Solidarity and the government are marking time.

The government is still expecting Solidarity to come round to its plan for a "front" without posing any conditions at all. The trade union, for its part, is still demanding prior guarantees on the democratization of local elections, access to the mass media, monitoring of the economic policy and the influence it would have in this "front."

There are two conflicting prospects in one solution: the integration of the independent trade union into the regime, or the regime's political evolution; the first secretary, under the watchful eye of the apparatus, is finding it very difficult to make the minimal concessions which would make it possible to create a salutary ambiguity. Each side, therefore, is trying to draw support from the "third man," in this case the episcopate which, in a communique from its conference on Friday, voiced "its conviction that the national accord will be achieved" while repeating its demand for pluralism in the media.

Also on Friday Mr Walesa called on trade unionists not to fall into the trap of the "vulgar provocation" in the shape of the considerable increase in the price of alcoholic drinks before the festive season. "We will choose the subjects and location for confrontation, but it will not be on alcoholic drinks," he said when announcing a presidium meeting, expanded to include the chairmen of the trade union's regional organizations, to take place in Radom on Thursday. The plenum was continuing this Saturday: Whatever happens, Mr Walesa has just raised the tone.

REPORTAGE OF PARTY OFFICIALS' ACTIVITIES

Jaruzelski at Regional Meeting

AU301304 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Nov 81 pp 1,2

[Report on speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and premier, at the 25 November plenum of the Piotrkow Trybunalski PZPR Voivodship Committee]

[Text] W. Jaruzelski shared the impressions he had gathered during his visit to the mining-energy region at Belchatow.

Among other things he drew attention to the good organization and order at the building site. He expressed his approval of the building workers who, despite various difficulties, are successfully achieving their goal, and by their work serving socialist Poland well. Speaking about investment, he stressed its significance for the national economy and the responsibility which lies on everyone's shoulders for its realization. He stated the need for putting plans in order in good time, for updating and sorting out many earlier decisions, for working out a new and better form of coordination and supervision, and for a special approach by the party and state authorities toward the "Belchatow" issues. The problems connected with this investment will be discussed at one of the next meetings of the Council of Ministers, and also to an appropriate extent at the next, Sixth Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee.

W. Jaruzelski stressed the critical and yet constructive tone of the plenary discussion, which was saturated with problems of how to eliminate all that was bad, standing in the way of improvement. He stressed the need for every party member and citizen to concentrate more on the work he is doing. He also spoke about the role of the party organization and all its members. W. Jaruzelski finally characterized some of the elements of the current political and socioeconomic situation in Poland.

Milewski in Czestochowa

AU271441 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Miroslaw Milecki, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at a 23 November meeting of party aktivs of the "Bierut" steel plant and representatives of party organizations from the largest manufacturing plants in Czestochowa]

[Text] M. Milewski referred to the problems being dealt with by the party aktivs. He said, among other things, that the PZPR Central Committee had made a general appraisal of the situation in the country at its fourth plenary meeting. It had been a critical appraisal and a resolution was adopted on this matter. The party put forward the idea of a front of national accord, whose aim is to bring together all the patriotic forces for the good of the nation, and which creates the right conditions, especially social ones, for leading the country out of its heavy crisis. The point is that those who accept the line of agreement should unite their endeavors for the good of Poland. It is not only the present we are concerned about, but also the future of Poland. Every citizen should carefully consider how he can help his country and not harm it. This can be done because the conditions for overcoming the difficulties and the opportunities for solving the crisis do exist. Speaking about internal party matters, M. Milewski said that the party saw a great chance of uniting and closing its ranks by letting itself be guided by Leninist principles.

M. Milewski next discussed problems of national security and the threats posed by the current situation. He drew attention to the growth in the crime rate and the activity of antisocialist forces. He stressed that general support and assistance by the community for those bodies responsible for the security of the citizens' lives and property was essential. He also outlined measures aimed at facilitating the issuance of passports.

In conclusion M. Milewski appealed to the working people and the communists of Czestochowa to offer their constructive help and support to assist the proper activities of the party in solving the present crisis.

Orzechowski in Walbrzych

LD302104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Tasks and conditions of the ideological and political work of the party in the region of Walbrzych Voivodship were discussed today at the party Voivodship Committee plenum in Walbrzych.

Anxiety was expressed with the diminishing activity of some party members. It was stated that many party meetings have very low attendance and there is no discussion at them. Fear was expressed that the activity of the Marxist-Leninist party forum of the Voivodship Committee may be disastrous for the unity of party ranks. Splitting into factions, it was pointed out, means destruction. It was said with emphasis that the community will not regain its trust in the party if bringing people to account -- people responsible for the crisis -- is to go on slowly and in a climate of half-truths.

Many party members are returning their party cards because they see that the way people are brought to account is contrary to their feelings. There were also voices saying that the activity of the factional Marxist-Leninist forum is necessary because it constitutes a counterweight to the extremists in Solidarity.

Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the party Central Committee who attended the session, without negating the goodwill of the forum members, called for them to cease this kind of activity which is taken advantage of by enemies of socialism.

FORMER PZPR VOIVODSHIP FIRST SECRETARY EXPELLED

LD272044 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] In Wroclaw a meeting of the special adjucating group of the Voivodship Party Control Commission has taken place. The case of former first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Ludwik Drozdz was discussed. He has been accused of the fact that during the June 1976 events he carried out an assessment which the real causes of this protest, and consequently he undertook repressive actions against the strikers in Wroclaw. They were sacked from their jobs, and their family status, material conditions and hitherto achievements were disregarded.

Moreover, Ludwik Drozdz exploited his party function for personal benefit, which -- as the Supreme Chamber of Control has proved -- caused the state treasury considerable losses.

He tolerated the unethical behavior of persons from the state administration and party apparatus. The adjudicating group, after meticulously examining the case and hearing explanations by Ludwik Drozdz, decided to expell him from the party.

TRYBUNA LUDU PARTY ORGANIZATION VIEWS TASKS

AU271447 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Nov 81 p 2

["AL" report: "The Meeting of the TRYBUNA LUDU Basic Party Organization"]

[Text] On Saturday, 21 November, a meeting of the TRYBUNA LUDU basic party organization took place. The meeting was devoted to discussing the situation in Poland and the tasks of the editorial staff in light of the latest party resolutions. Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Stefan Olszowski took part in the meeting and spoke during the discussions.

In its resolution, which was adopted after many hours of discussion, the party organization says that the initiative of the party concerning the front of national accord is of historic significance inasmuch as it creates hope for leading the country out of the crisis relatively quickly, for organizing the construction of socialism in accordance with Polish historical traditions, and for spelling out the most important issues concerning the state for the next few decades.

In developing and implementing the idea of agreement, the resolution states, we see a great chance of stimulating the whole party to activity, particularly its basic organizations. We regard the propagation and development of this idea as the prime task of party propaganda and of our newspaper. Substantiating this idea, the party organization recognized that it should be served by intensifying the stream of honest information in the columns of the paper, accompanied by a stream of commentaries expressing the party's attitude. The party organization recognized the need for widening the scope of journalism on ideological and social matters, based on the richness of Marxist thought.

PZPR SZCZECIN FIGURE RESIGNS, FORMS NEW GROUP

LD281456 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] [no dateline received] — Marek Przygocki, first secretary of the PZPR Committee at the Selfa works in Szczecin, who was a delegate to the Ninth PZPR Congress, has turned in his party card, citing his lack of faith in the restoration of authenticity and authority to the party. Holding the view, he stated that the situation in Poland requires a search for new forms and solutions. I have taken part in setting up an organization called "Social Alliance - Renascence" [przymierze spoleczie-odroezecie], which has been attacked by the party press; the PZPR Works Committee at Selfa asked me to decide where I want to be active.

PRO-ACCORD INITIATIVE GROUP SET UP IN GORZOW

LD281454 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] An initiative group for the council of national accord has been set up in Gorzow. The proposal to set it up came from activists of the urban party echelon who invited the other political parties, trade unions and church authorities to participate. This is a response to the appeal by General Jaruzelski regarding the building of a front of accord.

The PZPR, ZSL and SD statutory authorities and the trade unions have given plenipotentiary powers to their representatives to act in the initiative group. Solidarity's regional board, however, has adopted a waiting stance and is making a possible positive decision on this matter dependent on the guidelines of the National Commission in Gdansk.

Up to now representatives of the church authorities have not announced that they will join either. However, the initiative group is functioning and is counting on cooperation from all social forces [word indistinct] popularizing the idea of a front of national accord.

REPORTAGE ON FIREFIGHTERS SCHOOL STRIKE

Ministry Proposes Closing

LD292218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Text] As the spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has stated, in connection with the strike of the Higher Officers' School of Firefighting, the head of the ministry has submitted a motion to the Council of Ministers concerning the dissolution of this school.

At the same time, the ministry has taken steps to make it possible for those students who comply with the regulations to continue their studies and graduate.

The communique states that the strike at the Higher Officers' School of Firefighting is illegal. [words indistinct]

Background to Strike

LD292256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Text] From the communique received from the press spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs we learn that on 25 November, in the Higher Officers' School of Firefighting in Warsaw, a conflict came about against the background of the interpretation of the draft bill on higher education.

Part of the civilian teaching staff, with the participation of the cadre associated under Solidarity and a group of students, put foward a demand for the introduction of changes to the draft bill, and, by the same token, for the exclusion of the Higher Officers' School of Firefighting from the system of higher education of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

In the school a sit-in strike is in progress. The building is the property of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The proposals and variants for resolving the conflict submitted by the interministerial commission during the talks with the strike committee have been rejected, and the talks broken off.

The strike at this school, in the opinion of the ministry, is illegal, since in accordance with the decisions adopted in August 1980 by the Firefighters' Trade Union strikes were excluded as a form of protest.

On this matter, the General Prosecutor's Office has commenced investigations, and the persons responsible for the conflict, particularly those not linked with the school, will be brought to account according to the rules of the law.

Council Dissolves School

LD301916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] The Council of Ministers at today's session, regarding the proposal made by the minister of internal affairs, and acting on the basis of article 2, paragraph 1 and article 5, paragraph 8 of the law of 5 November 1958 on higher education, has made a decision to dissolve the Higher Officers' School of Firefighting in Warsaw. Moreover, the Council of Ministers has complied with the proposal of the minister of internal affairs that conditions for continuing and completing firefighting studies be created for those students who will conform to the regulations arising out of the law on fire protection and to the decree on the service of firemen.

Militia Surrounds School

LD302152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The strike at the Higher Officers' Firefighting School in Warsaw: As you have probably heard in earlier bulletins, the Council of Ministers today decided to disband the school.

A press conference was held today organized by the chief of command of the firefighting service. Information was released that the talks between the strike committee and the interministerial commission were suspended on Saturday because there was no chance for agreement. At that time there were strangers inside the school, among them Solidarity intervention groups from large enterprises, and representatives of Mazowsze region Solidarity leadership. Because of this situation, the school building has been surrounded by militia units thus making it impossible for persons from outside to infiltrate the school. Approximately 95 percent of the students and 35 percent of the teachers are on strike. Justifying the need to maintain the paramilitary character of the school, representatives of the chief command stated that in Poland, just as in other countries, the firefighting service is also subordinated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Fire service 2d Lieutenant Stanislaw Mazur who gave the press conference stated that the use of force has so far not been considered necessary to solve the conflict.

In connection with the statement by the Internal Affairs' Ministry press spokesman on dissolving the school, the chief of command of the firefighting service explained that when the school is reformed it will accept as pupils only those cadets who leave the present school by 30 November and sign a declaration at the chief of command stating that they will respect school regulations.

TRYBUNA LUDU ANALYZES CAUSE OF RECENT STRIKES

LD301820 Warsaw PAP in English 1722 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Nov (PAP) -- TRYBUNA LUDU today printed some data issued by the government press bureau about strikes and other acts aimed at the social system in Poland from last November 4, the date of the Jaruzelski-Glemp-Walesa meeting.

The first part of the list, which covers the period November 4-15, shows that November 5 saw two continuing strikes, one of them seizing an entire voivodship. On the same day, 60 enterprises all over Poland were on a strike alert and sit-ins started at two work places, including Radom's engineering college.

On November 12, the number of continuing strikes rose to seven, 85 work establishment proclaimed strike alert, and sit ins, protest actions and press boycott were announced in 9 provinces. On the same day, the Independent Student Association proclaimed strike action in all the colleges and universities throughout Poland.

The two instances alone suffice to testify to a mounting social tension in this country. New hotbeds of conflicts are growing, and all these actions organized and affirmed by many leaders of the Solidarnosc independent trade union do not serve national accord.

For many months now, wrote TRYBUNA LUDU, the continuing wave of strikes has been holding on. The strikes have burst out for short [as received] or have seized in a continuing way whole voivodships, cities, factory complexes, industrial branches or particular enterprises. They have moved on to the Polish countryside, and recently also have grasped universities and secondary schools.

The reasons for these actions are varied. They are a reflection of protracted conflicts in work places and various social groups. They also grow out of nagging economic problems. Often, they are an expression of particular political attitudes, frequently manifesting a hostile approach to the state and its authorities, sociopolitical system and Poland's alliances. Simultaneously, the causes of strikes are often atrifle, or even absurd.

Apart from the underlying reasons, these actions are intensifying social unrest, undermining the country's state and economic structures, weakening its economic potential. The results of the strikes are imminently and objectively aimed against the interests of the entire society. The state of anarchy is spreading on. All this is obviously tied to particular political calculations of various extremist groups which under the guise of lofty slogans and ideas are consciously andon purpose aiming to deepen Poland's internal instability, to impose their own political and social solutions directed against the constitutional order of our state, said the party newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU in conclusion.

SOLIDARITY SUSPENDS STRIKE READINESS IN CHORZOW

Suspension Until 7 Dec

LD271956 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] Our correspondent Wojciech (Wypuzz) reports that a session of the Solidarity municipal commission in Chorzow has taken place. It was attended by representatives of the union's works commission and of the Slask-Dabrowa regional board.

Wednesday's incident in front of the railway station in Chorzow was discussed.

It was decided to suspend the strike readiness in the town until 7 December. The demand was put forward that the regional prosecutor's office submit a written statement concerning the release of all those detained in front of the station, that the deadline and amount of compensation for the persons wronged as a result of the intervention by the militia be established, and that Solidarity be given access to the mass media.

On 8 December, Solidarity is to make a decision concerning the form of action. Calm reigns in Chorzow. The regional prosecutor's office is continuing the investigation into the incident.

Incident Linked With KPN

LD280746 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Excerpt] Now, in accordance with the earlier announcement, we shall return to the recent incident at the Chorzow-Batory railroad station. Here is what the press spokesman of the voivodship headquarters of the Citizens' Militia in Katowice, Norbert Kasprzak, said about this on the TV news bulletin yesterday:

[Begin recording] Despite the known appeal by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic and the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission [KK] resolution on refraining from strike actions and maintaining social calm in face of the disastrous situation in which our country has found itself, there are forces in Poland, including in our voivodship, which place their egotisical and anti-Polish goals above the good of the citizens at large. There is every indication that they are trying to use every opportunity to intensify tensions and to lead to an open conflict. An eloquent and particularly striking example of this is the latest incident at the railroad station in Chorzow-Batory which has every aspect of an act of terrorism directed against those citizens who have protested against such actions.

This incident was brought about by a group of people who were painting slogans and plastering posters, a group which is a fighting squad of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and acts under the protective wings of the Slask-Dabrowa regional board. An eloquent example of this is the group's use of protective helmets with the sign of fighting Poland painted on them, the symbol with which the KPN is illegally indentifying itself. Another characteristic element of this group's activity was the participation of a person dressed in a priest's cassock. This person turned out to be 19-year-old Zbigniew (Szczeciuk), who has never been employed and is temporarily a resident in Warsaw. He is an active member of the KPN. For some time now he has been on the Slask-Dabrowa regional board and has brought them illegal KPN materials from Warsaw. At the time he was detained he was in possession, inter alia, of an already printed text of a song on the incidents in Chorzow, on the group which was plastering posters and painting slogans in this town.

I would like to state very resolutely that the Citizens' Militia, being a body set up to secure safety and public order, is entitled, within the framework of its powers, if public order is violated to use means of direct duress. We are resolute in using these powers in each case when law and public order is strikingly violated. [end recording]

FIRST ROUND OF TALKS END AT RADOM SCHOOL STRIKE

LD290230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Text] As our correspondent from Radom, Andrzej Medrzycki, has reported, late tonight the first round of talks ended between the parties in the conflict at the Higher School of Engineering [WSI]. A joint communique adopted at the end of the 2-day-long talks says:

On 28 November talks were continued in Radom between the delegation of the strike committee of NSZZ Solidarity, the Independent Students' Association, the students' strike committee of the Radom WSI and the delegation of the school protest committee of staff and students of the WSI in Radom, with the participation of representatives of the main council of higher education and of the conference of rectors from higher educational establishments.

Both delegations were accompanied by three-member groups of advisers-observers.

Initial ways to solve the conflict in the WSI were discussed along with the election of academic authorities proposed by the mediators. This proposal -- preliminarily discussed by both delegations -- will be presented for approval by those delegations represented at the talks.

The next round of talks will begin on Tuesday, (?1) December, at 1500 in Radom.

That was the official communique. It is worth stressing the moderate optimism of the members and their good will. They believe that it will be possible to resolve the conflict and end the strike in the next few days.

LUBLIN SCHOOL STRIKE ACTIONS, AGREEMENT REPORTED

Commission Set Up

LD280154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] Even though strikes at higher educational establishments are still continuing, a certain drop in tension can be observed. The fact that talks have begun on resolving the conflict at the Radom Higher Engineering School and that the draft higher education bill has been submitted to the Sejm have made for a calmer atmosphere.

Nevertheless, PAP correspondents reported yesterday that strike action at higher educational establishments was continuing and even spreading.

An agreement was reached yesterday during talks being held in Lublin between voivodship authorities' representatives and the region's Solidarity board concerning certain aspects of education in the Lublin region. A six-man mixed group has been set up. By the day after tomorrow it will come up with a proposal concerning the establishment of an initiatives commission to be in charge of setting up a voivodship social council for education and upbringing. The cancellation of the active strike in schools will depend on the speed of work on the establishment of the council and on implementation of other demands.

After assurances had been given by the Lublin voivoda that these matters would be implemented by educational authorities, Solidarity's negotiators came to the conclusion that conditions for calling off the strike had been satisfied. Results of the talks are to be presented to the regional schools strike committee, empowered to call off the strike.

Agree on Socioeconomic Council

LD281122 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Excerpts] A government-Solidarity agreement was reached in Lublin yesterday on certain aspects of education in the Lublin region. In addition, an agreement was signed on setting up a socioeconomic council. Its tasks will be to inspire and keep a check on activities aimed at improving the situation in Lublin Voivodship, especially as to improving food supplies. The council will concern itself with assessing legal acts and decisions issued by the voivoda which are a subject of interest to NSZZ Solidarity, and will also prepare proposals for legal solutions in the sphere of social self-management. It was agreed that the council will operate until 15 January next year, and longer if need be.

Team on Housing Problems

LD282138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] As the press spokesman of the voivoda of Lublin has reported, an agreement has been concluded between the regional board of the NSZZ Solidarity of the central eastern region in Lublin and the voivoda on the appointment of a team whose most urgent task will be, among other things, to improve the market and housing construction situation and to prevent and resolve social conflicts. It is anticipated that the team's activities will continue to the middle of January, but the possibility that the period of its functioning will be extended is not being ruled out.

Strike Spreads to Swidnik

LD302200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] The Lublin schools' strike is spreading. Today it was joined by two further schools in Swidnik. At present, 26 establishments are taking part, with primarily teachers -- members of Solidarity -- being on strike.

The regional schools' strike committee makes calling off the strike dependent on the pace of the implementation of the decisions concerning the formation of a voivodship social council of education and upbringing, and a guarantee by the education authorities to introduce new programs for classes in history, Polish, social sciences and ethics.

A further round of talks will be held today between Solidarity and the voivodship authorities.

WARSAW LISTS WLOCLAWEK FARMERS' DEMANDS

LD301328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Wojciech Rzeszut dispatch from Wloclawek]

[Text] The nearly 100-strong group of private farmers members of NSZZ Rural Solidarity of the Dobrzyn land and Kujawy is occupying the building of the voivodship Union of the Agricultural Circles and Organizations [CZKIOR] in Wloclawek. The sit-in started last Monday, that is a week ago, and farmers belonging to Rural Solidarity have presented to the Wloclawek voivoda their demands, most of which are of a supraregional character.

The Wloclawek strikers demand an entry in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic guaranteeing the durability and inviolability of the peasant family farms, an amendment to the Polish People's Republic cooperatives bill and a return to the cooperative precepts of 1920, liquidation of land enclaves belonging to fisheries associations and state farms, and the increase of the size of farms in line with the Polish Committee of National Liberation manifesto and the decree on agricultural reform.

The Wloclawek strikers also demand an immediate annulment of Resolution No 229 adopted by the Council of Ministers and the cancellation of the price increases for diesel oil and services rendered by the Agricultural Circles Cooperatives. The strike of private farmers in Wloclawek has received the support of Rural Solidarity from other parts of the country.

I should like to make it clear that the independent peasant trade unions are those which do not form part of the national Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, led by Jan Kulaj. It is the delegations of those trades unions which are arriving in Wloclawek from various voivodships. The regional strike committee of Rural Solidarity in Wloclawek has thus been transformed into a Strike Committee of the National Consultative Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, which consists of representatives of a dozen or so voivodships already.

The strike committee has issued a statement which reads in part: We support all initiatives aimed at the implementation of the promises and undertakings made by the government. We demand an unequivocal stance by the authorities on this issue. We support protest actions of peasants in Siedlce, Torun and Swidnica. We consider that there should be no unrest in the rural areas. The unity of the rural areas ought to be restored without delay. This is a target not only for the peasant organizations in the rural areas but also for the authorities. End of quotation.

In connection with the occupation of the voivodship CZKIOR building in Wloclawek a protest alert is still inforce thorughout the voivodship. It has been proclaimed by the voivodship CZKIOR in economic establishments subordinated to that union. The elucidating proceedings of the regional prosecutor's office in Wloclawek concerning the so-called prosecutor's [word indistinct] to the illegal break-in and occupation of the voivodship CZKIOR headquarters are continuing.

PILA VOIVODSHIP SOLIDARITY ENDS DEBATE

LD301400 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The second regional congress of delegates of NSZZ Solidarity of Pila Voivodship ended its 2-day debate in (?Ulce) near Pila after midnight today. The objective of the congress was to adopt and accept for implementation the programmatic decisions of the first national congress of the union in Gdansk and to assess the implementation of the decision of the first general assembly of delegates from Pila Voivodship. The program agreed earlier was however not consistently realized. For the first day and a half the delegates debated exclusively the paper dealing with the work to date of the regional executive. The paper was submitted by the chairman of the executive, Eligjusz Raczkowski.

Eligjusz Raczkowski was reelected chairman. But new elections of members of the regional executive will take place. Most of the delegates wanted the Pila region to remain independent. The continuation of the programmatic debate and election for the regional executive will take place during the second round of the congress which is to be held before 30 January 1982.

WARSAW RADIO REPORTS NEW SOLIDARITY WEEKLY

LD282306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] The first copy of a new sociopolitical weekly, SAMORZADNOSC, [self-government] was printed today in Gdansk. This periodical is a Solidarity mouthpiece, although it will have an open character [ma charakter otwarty]. Some 250,000 copies will be distributed in the Gdansk region, and 100,000 will be sent to the biggest urban centers in Poland. The first issue will go on sale the day after tomorrow. It contains statements by Lech Walesa, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Jerzy Kolodziejski and Konrad [name indistinct].

APPROVED APPEAL AGAINST BRATKOWSKI EXPULSION

LD280528 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] At a meeting of Polish Journalists Association of the Polish Warsaw primary party organization a text of a statement appealing the decision of the Central Party Control Commission to expel Stefan Bratkowski from the party was passed with a decisive majority of votes.

PAP CITES RAKOWSKI REMARKS IN OSTROLEKA

LD271230 Warsaw PAP in English 0814 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Nov (PAP) -- Poland's deputy prime minister, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, and head of the national committee for Branch Trade Unions cooperation Eugeniusz Mielnicki today took part in a meeting between activists of Branch Trade Unions factory councils and authorities of the Ostroleka Voivodship.

The meeting was dominated by the atmosphere of criticism, as speaker after speaker criticized the recent government decision to promote barter sales for farmers and raise the fuel prices.

Speaking at the meeting, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski discussed some problems springing from the current political and economic situation in the country, declaring that there emerged a current hostile to socialism in Poland which is based on total criticism. "I expect all the wise people," he said, "to oppose it. There is a crisis but we may pull out of it under condition of social calm."

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ADOPTS DRAFT ECONOMIC BILLS

LD302110 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] A report issued by the government press spokesman states that at today's session, the Council of Ministers adopted a package of drafts of far-reaching economic reform bills.

These draft bills, initially considered at the 9 November Council of Ministers session this year, were the subject of broad consultation. They were discussed in the Commission for Matters of Economic Reform and in the Legislative Council. Opinions and observations were submitted by 100 enterprises which acted as consultants.

In mid-October they were passed to the trade unions and social organizations for discussion. They were discussed by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers. The observations and opinions submitted during the course of the consultations contributed to a considerable degree toward perfecting the proposed solutions, and toward their better adaptation to the assumptions of the reform and the requirements of economic practice.

Recognizing the need for the work on the economic reform to be given a legislative course as quickly as possible, the Council of Ministers has decided to pass the draft bills to the Sejm.

The Council of Ministers also adopted draft executive directives for the bills passed by the Sejm on state enterprises and on workers' self-management. The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the principles of the activity of state enterprises for next year. The resolution comprehensively deals with all aspects of the functioning of enterprises, including in particular, the fundamental principles for establishing and controlling prices, the economic-financial system, the incentive system, internal and external trade, and the principles of organizing and the manner of managing the production of goods in short supply.

Particular attention was devoted to the matter of linking the principles of the independence of an enterprise with the need to ensure the implementation of the fundamental social objectives, namely: food, medicines, means of hygiene and so forth, in the difficult conditions of 1982.

The Council of Ministers considered a report on the situation in the field of culture in the conditions of the economic reform, which evoked heated and frequently anxious discussion. Given the general transformations and reforms of our life, new solutions are also needed in the field of culture, which will raise its importance in the life of the nation to the level of objectives and values which are both basic and supreme.

There exists a need to create a national fund for the development of culture, which alongside the hitherto available means, would become a significant source for financing and giving financial support to such important cultural needs as the protection of historical monuments, the development of cultural centers in works enterprises and in the countryside and assistance to the social-cultural movement in Poland. The relevant legislative initiatives must define ways for this fund to emerge.

Also needed is a significant improvement of patronage in the field of culture, in such a way that programmatic thought, and concern for matters of culture by the state authorities, the creative milieus, and all social forces acting in Poland on a basis of the constitutional order, should be combined. An expression of such a reformed patronage, on the highest level, could be a national council of culture, furnished with supreme powers, attached to the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Next, the Council of Ministers considered the matter of preparations for the Christmas holidays, and purchases connected with them. The ministers of the economic ministries were instructed to increase deliveries of products by however much is possible, while the government has turned to employees in the relevant trades to ensure more efficient sales of the goods received. It is evident that even in conditions of insufficient supplies, distribution of items can be more efficient, just, and at the same time less burdensome for the population. The minister of communications has been made duty-bound to rapidly streamline the delivery of parcels to the addresses.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers has instructed the heads of ministries to consider with sympathy, as far as is feasible, the offer of an additional 2 free days to working women during the holiday period.

The Council of Ministers considered in detail proposals on the matter of the current activization of procurement and on the stabilization of the rural market, making the relevant decisions.

The Council of Ministers also considered and adopted a draft bill on the provisional budget [prowizorium budzietowe] for 1982, defining the state budget income and expenditure for the next 5 months. The draft bill will be passed to the Sejm without delay.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers also pledged the relevant ministries and institutions to more effectively combat black marketeering, the phenomena of getting rich by means of speculation and feeding off the economic difficulties of the country and the community.

The Council of Ministers considered a draft construction industry employees charter, and instructed the continuation of work on perfecting the proposed regulations.

Press on Decisions

LD011014 Warsaw PAP in English 0839 GMT 1 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Dec (PAP) -- ZYCIE WARSZAWY characterized as important the decisions taken on Monday by the Council of Ministers on the introduction of the principles of the functioning of state enterprises in 1982 and on submitting to the Sejm of a whole set of documents which give a shape to the economic reform before the conclusion of negotiations with trade unions and above all Solidarnosc.

"The decisions, taken against these forces which do not want the reform, are in keeping with the decisions of the last PUWP CC plenary meeting. They testify to determination and also provide an opportunity to continue talks and consultations. However, one can be afraid that when the disputes continue, and the discussion on the reform has been going on for over a year, we could be trapped by consultations which will prevent the actual starting of introducing changes. Therefore, good will of all partners is needed", ZYCIE WARSZAWY said.

OPERATIONAL ANTICRISIS STAFF ADOPTS NEW MEASURES

LD301908 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] The Operational Anticrisis Staff headed by Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski has adopted a number of new decisions which meet halfway the submitted demands and directly counteract the most acute effects of the crisis. In the face of the coming winter and the growing supply difficulties, the most urgent issue for the population is to prevent cold homes. to this end the staff has ensured all the necessary means to guarantee the uninterrupted work of thermal power stations and electrothermal and power stations. The appropriate ministers, voivodas and presidents of towns with voivodship status have been instructed that, if the intake of thermal energy has to be restricted, this should apply above all to technological-production plant and not to heat supplies for the community and municipal economy units.

The voivodship anticrisis staffs have been authorized to decide the transfer of fuel reserves and to direct coal transporation so as to ensure uninterrupted heat supplies for the population. The staff has also embarked on actions which limit the use of coal for other purposes. Vocational training courses, with the exception of those pertaining to the economic reform, have been discontinued for the period of [word indistinct], that is from 1 December, and other measures have been adopted.

As regards the shortage of imported raw or semiprocessed minerals, which has become an acute obstacle in the functioning of industry, the staff has instructed the ministries concerned to adjust their priorities.

The reduction in the drastic shortage of hygiene products was helped by the staffs decision to lift the ban on new investments in three "Polena" establishments. The Anticrisis Staff has also instructed the minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection to inspect the state of unoccupied dwellings, using as a sample selected districts of Warsaw, Lodz and Wroclaw. The information acquired will form the basis of decisions designed to liquidate squandering and manifestations of social injustice in this sphere.

PZPR LEADERS GIVE VIEWS ON NATIONAL ACCORD

Rakowski Interview 30 Nov

LD010000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2215 GMT 30 Nov 81

["Extensive Excerpts" of interview with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski by Bozydar Ciesnin, chief editor of PAP's Internal Affairs Department; time and place not given -- announcer read]

[Text] [Question] Some weeks have elapsed since the day when Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed the settling up of a council of national accord. It seems that the generally accepted idea of such an accord has remained in a vacuum. In this connection the question arises: why has that has been happening?

[Answer] In fact quite a few things have been happening. After the speech made by the chairman of the Council of Ministers in the Sejm, in which he announced the setting up of a national accord council, there began a phase of public consultations to sound the opinions of the people on the subject. Over a period of 10 days the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee met leaders of political parties, public and youth organizations and trade unions as well as representatives of literary, art and other, similar circles. The series of particularly important consultations included Wojciech Jaruzelski's meeting with Jozef Glemp and Lech Walesa. Talks of a consultative nature have been held with representatives of political, academic and cultural circles by the general's colleagues. Even after the first few conversations it became clear that the proposal of setting up the national accord council met with full approval. The proposal was generally regarded as an important step toward the establishment of social peace in Poland.

Simultaneously with the consultative talks, the leadership of the PZPR appealed to the entire party for an expression of views on the idea of such an accord. Meetings of party organizations are being held at present to discuss this idea of national accord. It follows from the initial information about these meetings that members of the PZPR regard the creation of a national accord front as a necessity. Once the preliminary soundings proved that the proposal for setting up a national accord council was accepted by the majority of the persons consulted, the question of the actual creation of this council came to the fore. The question as to the ways in which the establishment of the council was to be carried out had to be answered. The situation calls for prompt action [words indistinct].

Wojciech Jaruzelski rightly decided that he would have infringed upon the spirit and letter of democracy if he, personally, proposed the composition of the council. Consequently, we reckoned that the way out would be to set up an initiating group which would be entrusted with the elaboration of the concept of the composition of the national accord council; thus, the composition would be developed jointly on the basis of partner-like consultations.

[Question] What would be the composition of the initiating group?

[Answer] We originally envisaged a membership of seven people, one each from the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD and also from the NSZZ Solidarity and the Industrial Branch Trade Unions. We also deemed it expedient to invite into the initiating group a representative of lay Catholics from among (?academic circles); at the same time we envisaged the possibility of broadening the group with the addition of representatives of other organizations and sections of the community.

[Question] When, then, can one expect the announcement of the composition of the initiating group?

[Answer] Unfortunately, I am unable to specify the time of such an announcement because the problem lies in the fact that the NSZZ Solidarity executive has not yet put forward the name of its candidate for membership in the group. At first, we were of the opinion that it was merely a question of time and that necessary arrangements had to be made within the executive of the Solidarity trade union. It was only in the last few days that an explanation has become available. It turns out that the Solidarity trade union executive simply had a different concept of the national accord front. In fact, it rejects the method of forming the national accord council as proposed by the general. Thus a new chapter has been opened in a matter which brooks no delay. In practice this amounts to the postponement, by an unknown amount of time, of the day on which the national accord council can be set up.

[Question] Would you like to comment on the stance adopted by NSZZ Solidarity with regard to the idea of the national accord front?

[Answer] Willingly, because I think that this much is owed to public opinion which links great hopes to the setting up of the national accord front. Well, as the press has informed us — for example, ZYCIE WARSZAWY of 24 November -- Mr Lech Walesa stated that the ideas of the two sides concerning the idea of national accord are different. The government, in the opinion of Lech Walesa, wishes first to bring about the formation of the national accord front and only then to tackle the problems with which we are struggling; Solidarity, on the other hand, would like to see the process of solving the problems precede the creation of the national accord front. The report in the paper does not convey, however, which problems Mr Walesa had in mind. Should there first be a termination of [word indistinct] in the (?style of attitude) of elements and activists of Solidarity with regard to the party? Or should there first be a success in overcoming the economic crisis? Or should we first establish peace and tranquillity in the country and eliminate unnecessary strikes, and only then create an institution of national accord? After all, Solidarity has also agreed to the idea that the accord should help precisely to overcome conflict. The viewpoint of the chairman of the Solidarity trade union is now being adopted by a number of local chapters of Solidarity; and generally speaking, what does this mean -- that one should first solve problems and only then create accord?

There are many problems in existence at the moment -- social, economic and political. A solution to these problems, even with the best will in the world of all interested parties requires time -- weeks, months or even a year or more. The idea of a national accord of all forces standing on the basis of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic originated, precisely, from the fact that it was not only the PZPR that decided on overcoming the crisis -- including a successful solution of many problems -- requiring precisely such an accord. For after all, accord above all is the creation of conditions making it possible for Poland to enter a stage of stabilization which is so desired; without stability, there is no question of solving problems.

Action for the cause of achieving stability must after all be recognized as the most important issue. Thus [words indistinct] suspicions that the reservations by Mr Walesa are purely political in character, that the reservation toward building a front of accord may be giving in to the pressure of forces of confrontation within Solidairty, or it may express fear of assuming joint responsibility for the country, which after all is in a difficult situation.

[Question] You said that a new theme for discussion has arisen. Does this automatically signify that the idea of setting up a council of national accord is becoming more remote?

[Answer] I shall answer frankly that it does. The announcement of the composition of an initiating group was suspended in mid air. The discussion on what should be done first may last for many weeks. But that is not all. As previously cited, Mr Lech Walesa (?sent) the successive subject for discussion, which may also draw on for weeks.

He said that if Solidarity were included in the composition of the front of national accord, on the conditions proposed by the government, it would be there merely as one of seven sociopolitical forces, which in his view does not correspond to the real position of the union. He added that the three main social forces -- the government, church and Solidarity -- (?should occupy) a special place in such a front, should have a special status, for example, the right of veto.

For the rest of the partners, as I think [word indistinct], such a concept maps out a spectator's role. And as for the "one-seventh," this kind of interpretation is quite simply a misunderstanding. As I already said, the proposed seven-member composition of the initiating group was dictated by practical considerations, and not by the assumption that in Poland there are precisely seven social forces, and that the author of setting up a working group allotted a place to Solidarity which Mr Walesa defined simply as a one-seventh force.

I will add that the objectives which were designated to this group were known to the union leadership. After all, the strength of every organization arises from its position in the community, and not form the number of seats in the working group.

[Question] Perhaps what Mr Walesa presented is only one of the concepts? And perhaps it is worth discussing the idea of the front of national accord in more detail with the leadership of this union?

[Answer] Perhaps. But the fact remains that as far as I am concerned, I thought that the council of national accord would be the body which would deal with working out the general concept of national accord. After all, today it is already clearly visible that the concretization of this idea puts a great deal of problems on the agenda which have a legal and political nature, question marks, vague points, hesitations and so forth.

Each of the future partners has a more or less precise idea of the accord and his own concepts. If this is the case then it is necessary to direct all these streams into one main trend. But how can this be done in practice? Only by discussion [words indistinct]. It is known that the PZPR Considers that the basis for the platform of agreement is the recognition of the principles of the political system as described in the Constitution.

The shape and content of the national accord cannot be imposed on all the partners by just one force -- neither by the PZPR nor by Solidarity. This is the essence of socialist renewal. With such an attitude nobody can accuse us of wanting to implement the leading role of the PZPR in a traditional way.

[Question] From what you have said one can gather that you are not optimistic. I think that a member of the highest state authorities should -- especially in the current period -- be hardened [uodporniony] by the failures of these or other concepts.

[Answer] I do not treat this subject in categories of optimism or pessimism, but in categories of realism. I am sufficiently hardened to take failures. It is a fact that at the moment many Solidarity activists prefer "no" to "yes". Why should I be indifferent to such attitudes or gloss over them? Is Solidarity excluded from criticism? My impression is that the idea of national accord as formulated in general and the announcement of creating first structures of the front of national accord accepted by the community, with great hope for social peace, has been considered by many Solidarity activists as the PZPR leadership and government taking over the initiative. This fact caused a reaction which delays the creation of the front of national accord.

[Question] You have mentioned social peace? Do you think that it is only through national accord that social peace can be achieved?

[Answer] Such is our conviction. National accord is in essence a decisive attempt to curtail the phenomena pushing Poland over the precipice. If there is no accord, then what is left for the Poles? If I say confrontation, then voices will again be heard claiming that I am frightening the people. The situation is too serious for the idea of accord to be the subject of tactical games or the goal of one's own ambitions. Also, one must not say "yes" at one point and "no" at some other time on this matter. I would not like to be judged as a pessimist, but I have no solid basis for optimism. So far there is nothing that proves that those who see in destruction the spirit of renewal have yet realized what they are doing.

It is almost a month since the meeting of the great three -- the meeting which is considered by the community as being an event of the highest ranking. The meeting suggested that the time of agreement is coming. But what do we see in practice? There is not a single day without there being at least a few strikes. There are days when there are dozens of them. The reasons for the strikes are often unimportant. For instance, today in Poland, cafe staff are on strike because they will not agree to a new manager.

It is also impossible not to note the great propaganda campaign conducted in the streets by NSZZ Solidarity aimed against the Polish radio and television. In this campaign, the PZPR is attacked in a brutal way. The fight against the PZPR, which so far has been conducted at closed meetings and in trade union bulletins has now been moved into the streets. This is a new phenomenon. Groups coming into the streets, groups made up of Solidarity members wearing protective helmets and armed with sticks in order to protect those painting slogans is also a new phenomenon.

There is no doubt that we are witnessing a widespread struggle against the PZPR. Take, for instance, the attempts to remove PZPR works committees from their work enterprises. A large proportion of Solidarity activists protects the KPN and supports those counter-revolutionaries by political, organizational and material means. One cannot fail to notice also that some Solidarity activists took part in the creation of an illegal organization led by Jacek Kuron.

More and more I ask myself the question: How can the idea of national accord be fulfilled in such conditions?

[Question] Perhaps you are painting an untrue image or perhaps one which is too distorted?

[Answer] No, this is a true picture. The examples I gave are just a small part of what is going on. If I wanted to list the most typical and constantly repeated attacks on the socialist system, then I would have to write a thick book. I am afraid that our country will not be able to stand this state of tension and constant anxiety for much longer. But this is not all. The stike madness in Poland -- or if you prefer, the strike euphoria -- and along with it the falling chances of including NSZZ Solidarity in the life of the state, are considerably weakening Poland's position in the world. There are forces in the West which are interested in presenting the Poles as an irresponsible nation incapable of self control, who treat work with contempt; a nation of idlers that streches its hands for aid to everyone and which shames the principles of democracy because the nation is undemocratic, and so forth.

[Question] What next, Mr Premier?

[Answer] We state clearly: We shall continue to resolutely strive to create the front of national accord because it constitutes an attempt to save Poland from a critical situation. The idea of forming such a front is not a tactical move or a wish to return to the good old times. We count on our attempts being supported by the community, if not by the whole community, then by the majority. Many Poles are fed up with constant strikes and tension [words indistinct]. There are citizens who, seeing the ruination of the state, are ready to shout out: Enough. We count on them, their support for the state, their great feeling of dignity and their national pride.

Olszowski Interview 26 Nov

AU301732 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Nov 81 p 3

[Wieslaw Rogowski interview with Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, "carried out on the initiative of TRYBUNA LUDU and ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY: 'Accord or Confrontation'" -- date and place not given, capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] [Question] The political situation in the country continues to arouse concern about the future among Poles. This state of affairs cannot be separated from its social and ideological consequences. Those are real complications in ideological work and its goals. What are, in your opinion, the elements of the present situation in Poland?

[Answer] Indeed, the present situation must arouse concern and anxiety. The wave of strikes has overrun the country. After Sosnowiec and Lubogora, we are now confronted with increased protest actions organized by Solidarity, and other peasant trade union organizations have presented their postulates on the verge of a strike. Thus the countryside has become an area of political penetration aimed at consolidating the influence of definite forces trying to expand their social base. I do not think it is in the interests of the majority of the peasants. Such demonstrations are not needed to obtain constitutional guarantees for the stability of family farm holdings. On the other hand, strikes do not foster city-countryside economic bonds; on the contrary, they weaken them. Moreover, someone evidently feels uncomfortable about the increasing -- perhaps still insignificantly -- livestock deliveries. That "someone" is certainly not farm producers, workers or the state.

As far as the developments at higher schools are concerned, I think we have a similar phenomenon. The Independent Students Union has disputed the legality of Rector Hebda's election at the Higher School of Engineering in Radom because the rector himself and his democratic election did not suit the local school Solidarity. Thus, under the slogan of the struggle for self-governming and autonomous higher schools in Poland, the Independent Students Union is mobilizing all schools in the country to compel the Higher School of Engineering in Radom to change the outcome of the election, which is a result of its autonomy and self-government. The actual point is to provoke the students to back the Independent Students Union, even if those students do not know exactly what all that is really about.

The act on higher schools has been presented to the Sejm, but that did not put an end to the strikes. The strikers continue to insist on recalling Rector Hebda. This is an attempt to prove the political influence and reach of the Independent Students Union. That entire action has been enlarged by additional issues, attacks on party policy and the mass media, and this attests to the real goals pursued by the organizers of those strikes. LET US BE FRANK: SINCE SOCIETY DOES NOT ACCEPT INDUSTRIAL STRIKES AS IT USED TO -- WHICH IS EVIDENT FROM THE RESULTS OF POLLS CARRIED OUT BY THE TELEVISION CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION; ACCORDING TO THEM, ONLY 46 PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS BACKED THE WARNING STRIKE, WHILE BEFORE THAT NUMBER WAS 80-90 PERCENT -- THERE HAS BEEN A SWITCH FROM THE ACTION OF POLITICAL STRIKES TO ANOTHER, NONPRODUCTIVE SPHERE OF LIFE. IN THE OPINION OF THE ORGANIZERS, IN THE LATE AUTUMN IT WAS PRECISELY THE COUNTRYSIDE AND HIGHER OR SECONDARY SCHOOLS, AS IN THE CASE OF LUBLIN, THAT ARE THE MOST SUITABLE FOR THAT PURPOSE.

The strikes at many higher schools and at Lublin secondary schools are particularly harmful.

In this way, young people are being used for purposes which are alien to them, for the political struggle whose exact meaning they do not know; they waste their time and energy. The use of secondary school pupils -- and there is also the danger that elementary school pupils will be used -- by Lublin solidarity to accomplish the tasks of adults is simply immoral. YET THE GOAL HAS REMAINED THE SAME: TO UNDERMINE THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE, AND NOT TO LEAVE THE AUTHORITIES IN PEACE PRECISELY AT A TIME WHEN THE GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY TALKS RESUMED AND WHEN THE IDEA OF A FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD WAS BEING ADVANCED. THE POINT IS TO FOIL ANY POSITIVE SETTLEMENT.

[Question] Does this trend apply to all of Solidarity, or is it connected with the changes in the balance of political forces inside, and outside that organization?

[Answer] The well-known statement signed by Lech Walesa on behalf of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium seems to express Walesa's rather positive attitude to the initiatives of the party leadership and to the Sejm appeal for discontinuing strikes. But at the same time the National Commission Presidium also deliberated without Walesa in a spirit that rather differed from that of the statement.

[Question] Does this signify a political polarization?

[Answer] In any case, it signifies a new situation. Moreover, other facts are evidence of that. For example, public order organs prevented the meeting from setting up a new illegal organization, the "Self-Governing Republic Clubs -- Freedom-Justice-Independence," which would have been held in Jacek Kuron's apartment. Its draft ideological declaration clearly shows what the point is. Well, they oppose less radical concepts, such as the socio-christian ones, and Solidarity's possible cooperation with the state. They say that the "authorities under pressure from an independent organization" lose the ability to act and that society's hopes that the talks between the Solidarity National Commission and the government would result in calm and order are futile. They accuse the authorities of alleged attempts to split Solidarity. In other words, they do not want to come to terms, do not want to cooperate and, while speaking about "pressure from an independent organization," they even negate Walesa's concept of a union constantly controlling the government. What Kuron's friends and associates from the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] seek is the so-called struggle for independence and, allegedly, for Christian ideals. But they feel hurt that the socio-Christian orientation, while using the patterns of Christian ethics, rejects -- as they say -- representatives of other views and finds them to be "elements alien to the nation and religion," which is, for them, a form of "peculiar blackmail."

This is evidence of significant confusion, divisions and contradictions. Kuron intends to seize the initiative. He cannot accept the fact that the initiative belongs to the forces on the other side, forces inclined toward common sense, more constructive forces. His goal is, as usual, to smash the structures of the people's state.

By the way, let us note that the name of the "Freedom-Justice-Independence" clubs is only a slight modification of the underground organization of the rightwing forces of the Polish Socialist Party, founded by Puzak and Zaremba during World War II, under the name of "Freedom-Equality-Independence." Thus Kuron adds to his political genealogy and to his program the rightwing of the Polish Socialist Party, Christian ethics, and even Pope John Paul II's encyclical. This is an interesting attempt in line with the principle that any argument is good as long as it helps to achieve the goal. A shrewd political gambler, Kuron skillfully adapts himself to moods and emotions.

[Question] Thus public calm is being disturbed by these intentional political activities. But anxiety also has its roots in the state of the economy, which worries everyone.

[Answer] It is very difficult indeed. But one must not overlook at least the slight symptoms of changes, as for example, a turn for the better in livestock procurements, or the recent increase in coal output every Saturday, reaching half of the normal daily target. BOTH LIVESTOCK AND COAL ARE EXAMPLES THAT CONCRETE GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS AND DECISIONS, EVEN IF THEY ARE NOT PERFECT, PRODUCE POSITIVE RESULTS. WE MUST FURTHER IMPROVE THE SUPPLIES OF PRODUCTION MEANS AND MACHINES TO MINES AND FARMS. AND WE MUST NOT PASSIVELY WATCH DEVELOPMENTS, BECAUSE ONLY ACTION PRODUCES RESULTS.

Unfortunately, we do not have too many reasons to be optimists. Data for the first 10 months of the current year prove that we overfulfilled the socieconomic plan only in the spheres of employment, incomes from wages and procurement, and the country's debts. All the other planned targets have not been achieved, although they were rather modest. Exports are too small, and that is very negative for our future. It affects the entire economy because we are short of funds for imports. The winter season may bring us even bigger troubles. WHILE NOT TRYING TO CONCEAL THOSE FACTS, I AM OF THE OPINION THAT, THROUGH THE COMMON EFFORTS OF SOCIETY, WE CAN TAKE AT LEAST A SMALL STEP FORWARD. THAT IS WITHIN THE POSSIBILITIES OF OUR ECONOMY.

Thus we have a modern production apparatus, various raw materials, and above all talented and skilled people. This year's farm crops were rather good. Some progress could be made on the market. Use should be made of the opportunities offered by the economic reform. Those matters deserve support and new initiatives in labor activity. This is in the interest of society, and if we are able to achieve more in that sphere, we will also win acknowledgment for the party. TO BE SURE, FOR THAT PURPOSE WE NEED SOCIAL CALM AND REFRAINING FROM STRIKES. THE ENEMIES OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM DO NOT WANT THAT: THEY ARE AFRAID OF SOCIAL CALM. But we are winning allies among the working people, among entire Solidarity organizations, and particularly among members of Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions. However, political hostility for socialism has blinded some people to such an extent that they have stopped taking account of the nation's good and the vital interests of the people. To achieve their goals, they are even prepared to sacrifice the lives of others. Those "democrats" are the common enemies of the rank-and-file people, of the Poles.

[Question] This is not the image of a situation in which one can pin great hopes on the success of the idea of accord and cooperation. With such attitudes and such hostility...

[Answer] But the idea of accord does not apply to the enemies of socialism. THE FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD MUST ENCOMPASS REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL REAL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORCES ASPIRING TO SAVE THE NATION, ENHANCING POLAND, PEOPLE'S POLAND, IN OTHER WORDS, SOCIALISM. The point is to form a front of patriots irrespective of their ideologies, party affiliation or creed. The front of accord must take account of the realities, of new forces, such as Solidarity, and of the historical ones, such as the church, and it must primarily take account of the fact that our state's political system is based on the democratic alliance among the PZPR, the United People's and Democratic Parties, and that our party, in line with the Constitution, has the leading role in the state. In addition to loyalty to our international alliances, to friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries, those principles constitute the roots of the idea of accord.

The proposed idea should assume the shape of the council of national accord called upon to examine and adjust the role, structure and actions of the front of national accord to the political and social realities of People's Poland. Those concepts have been agreed upon by the PZPR leaders and the leaders of the United Peasants and Democratic Parties.

A preliminary group is being formed to provide specific conditions for implementing those proposals. The talks held by the PZPR Central Committee first secretary with the primate of the Catholic Church, the Solidarity chairman and the leaders of the other central trade unions, institutions, scientific and creative unions, youth circles and organizations, have confirmed their positive views on that idea. Many social groups, organizations and individual citizens warmly second the proposal to form the front of national accord, while pinning great hopes on it and being aware of the fact that it may help to restore social calm and normalize the country. This is a chance for all.

HOWEVER, THERE ARE ALSO OPPONENTS OF THE FRONT. THEY ARE RECRUITED AMONG POLITICAL GROUPS AND MOVEMENTS ILL-DISPOSED OR HOSTILE TOWARD SOCIALISM. THEIR GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS ARE DIFFERENT. THEY ARE AWARE THAT, UNDER NORMAL CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTRY, WHEN PATRIOTIC FORCES GROUNDED ON OUR SYSTEM, FAVORING SOCIALIST IDEAS AND RESPECTING THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC UNITE, THEIR GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS ARE UNACHIEVABLE. The adversaries of an accord either oppose it directly, or try to confuse the idea, while proposing to sanction the right to veto, for example, in the council of national accord which was the case during the republic of the nobility and which would paralyze reforms.

National agreement -- the Poles' basic hope in the face of the dramatic threat to the state -- is too serious an issue for its principles to be undermined before they are implemented. THE IDEA OF AGREEMENT SHOULD BE SUPPORTED BY SOCIETY AND BECOME A GENUINE BASIS FOR SORTING OUT THE POLES' VIEWS. THIS IS WHY THE GENERAL EXCHANGE OF IDEAS ON THIS IMPORTANT SUBJECT ARE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. THESE EXCHANGES INCLUDE THE PRESENT CONSULTATIONS THROUGHOUT THE PARTY, IN ALL ITS BASIC ORGANIZATIONS. THIS IS PROOF OF THE SIGNIFICANCE THE PZPR ATTACHES TO THE IDEA OF THE FRONT.

All kinds of strikes, political demonstrations, anti-Soviet propaganda and nationalism, which are being fomented by extremists, are fully deliberate obstacles to agreement. It would be better to say that those extremists are actually rightwing, reactionary politicians, whether they hide behind Solidarity or behind students and peasants. If this surge of political reaction, of counterrevolutionary activities and slogans and of deliberate attempts to disrupt the state and our friendship with the fraternal socialist states and to destroy the conditions for the Polish people's existence continues to roll over Poland, the Polish state will continue to become increasingly weaker.

[Question] What could be worse than hunger, anarchy and chaos? We are quite close to the bottom on which everything may go to pieces.

[Answer] I DO NOT MAKE A SECRET OF THE FACT THAT THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE IDEA OF NATIONAL AGREEMENT: CONFRONTATION. NEITHER THE PARTY, STATE NOR POLISH SOCIETY WANT CONFRONTATION. WHO WANTS IT THEN?

The present circumstances on this earth are far from ideal. The world is deeply divided. We know what imperialism wants: It seeks to weaken the socialist states. This is a naive dream. This is an illusion bordering on madness. All the same, real forces are in action. A worldwide struggle is going on not only in the sphere of politics and economy, but also in other spheres. The Polish situation, which has come about internally, is not isolated from the world. The centers of ideological and political subversion and political inspiration emanating from anticommunism have been operating in Poland for many years.

Some of that influence has had results, as can be seen in the various scenarios of events, in the political programs and aims of organizations such as the "Self-governing Republic Clubs -- Freedom-Justice-Independence," in antisocialist, antiparty and anti-Soviet slogans and in the slanders printed in various leaflets, banners and illegal bulletins.

This is being encouraged by the nationalistic sentiments cynically fomented, rehashed and suggested to the young people, by the outdated ideas of the Pilsudski system and of national democrats, and by the profit-seeking enunciations addressed to we-know-who and published by the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG under the name of Jan Jozef Lipski, who questions the historically proved Polish character of our Western territories. This is just bartering with our national interests. This is a naive attempt to direct Poland's policy and alliances to other channels.

Affected by the fumes of their anti-Sovietism, the opponents of Poland's socialist development, political reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries can unleash provocations aimed at bloodshed. Realism makes it mandatory for us to reckon with such a development of the situation, which is feasible after all. Mr Jurczyk's speech at Trzebiatowo was a public appeal to settle accounts, an appeal in which he mentioned the gallows and called the communists traitors. In addition, he used anti-Semitic innuendos, which must be resolutely condemned, trying in this way to create divisions in our society. He, the Solidarity people sharing his political views, the people from the Confederation for an Independent Poland and the sponsors of those "Self-Governing Republic Clubs -- Freedom-Justice-Independence" want just one thing: to demolish the structures of the socialist state, to reject the Polish model of socialism and to replace it with something undefined, something without the communists, something that is supposed to be self-governing, something that lacks the final definition, but something that is quite clear to the majority. They regard Poland, the people, our territory and our way of life as a model in theory. They want to turn Poland into a pro-Western country that in fact would be a bourgeois country, disregarding the fact that what is at stake is the vital existence of our people in a real place -- between the Bug and the Odra, and not on the moon. They expect to reverse the thinking of the young people and commit them to struggle. Struggle against whom? Against their fathers and against their own fate?

But such thinking will not be satisfied with theories. It will want to express itself in action. We can already see the beginning of this. I have already spoken about fomenting unrest and strikes -- fomenting that is not accidental, to my mind -- about inciting university and secondary school students, about the Solidarity extreme forces' attempts to weaken the positions of reasonable people and about the political excesses. Is that all? TODAY THEY WANT TO DISRUPT POLITICAL TALKS AND CONSULTATIONS AND TO BAR THE ROAD TO THE FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD AND TO NORMALIZING LIFE IN POLAND. BUT WHAT WILL THEY WANT TOMORROW? TIME WILL TELL, BUT LET NO ONE HAVE ANY ILLUSIONS THAT HE WILL BE ABLE TO LIQUIDATE SOCIALISM IN POLAND. THAT IS SIMPLY UNREALISTIC.

[Question] I am deeply convinced that most Poles will reject the specter of confrontation and will accept the idea of agreement -- a platform of cooperation and common work for the common good.

[Answer] This gives hope and allows one to believe, that the future, which will surely be difficult, will be quiet and creative.

Barcikowski Interview 24 Nov

AU271657 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 81 p 3

[Anna Pawlowska interview with Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary: "To Be Oneself and Act Together" -- date and place not given; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] [Question] People say that as long as the party is hard pressed, it professes internal democracy and is for democratizing the country's life. But as soon as the pressure is off, it begins to again tighten the screw....

[Answer] Well, unfortunately this view is based on experience. AFTER ALL, THIS WAS, OR ALMOST WAS, THE CASE IN THE PAST, AND IT IS THEREFORE DIFFICULT FOR PEOPLE TO BELIEVE THAT THINGS MAY BE DIFFERENT THIS TIME. TO MAKE PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT THINGS ARE REALLY DIFFERENT THIS TIME IT IS NECESSARY TO FOLLOW A CONSISTENT POLICY AND TO MAKE PRUDENT CHANGES FOR GOOD.

Although the various departures from democracy were made necessary by genuine dangers and not by the thinking of the leadership groups or, even less, by some "inherent" features of socialism as it is, the aforementioned experience does not prove that these departures were not without results: They led to the successive crises, which were each time more profound and more dangerous for the party, for socialism and for the country. This is the view taken by the ninth party congress, which in its program resolution defined the sources of those crises and instructed a special Central Committee commission to analyze in detail the relevant crisis experience.

As you see, the tendency to "tighten the screw" is caused -- if it is caused -- by two different and even contrary reasons: by the awareness of genuine dangers (there is no doubt that today we have a surfeit of genuine dangers and that they increase rather than die out) and by the lack of the necessary political and social imagination and of true willingness to make changes.

All the previous party leaderships, the Central Committee bodies, all party levels and the entire party apparatus have never been as unambiguously obligated by the party's will, expressed at its ninth congress, as we have been. Nor have the previous internal party changes been so guaranteed by the statute as they are now. It is another question how much our society knows about these new facts and how much the party, each party member and each part, organization knows about them. The fourth plenum drew attention to that fact.

THIS IS WHY IT IS NECESSARY TO GO BACK TO THE NINTH CONGRESS AND TO ITS CLEAR DECISION TO MAKE PROFOUND AND LASTING CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM OF THE STATE AND IN THE METHODS OF GOVERNMENTS. THIS INDICATES THE CORRECT FEELING FOR DEMOCRACY AS A NATURAL AND INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT OF SOCIALISM, AND THE EFFORT TO EXPAND THE BASE OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND THE SELF-MANAGING FORMS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT. ALL THIS IS DONE NOT TO WEAKEN THE STATE, BUT TO BUILD UP ITS STRENGTH, BECAUSE ONLY A DEMOCRATIC AND LAW-ABIDING STATE CAN BE STRONG AND CAPABLE OF RESISTING SOCIAL TREMORS, AND CAN DISCOVER AND EFFECTIVELY SOLVE INEVITABLE CONFLICTS AND TONE DOWN THE INEVITABLE CONTRADICTIONS OF INTERNAL SOCIAL INTERESTS IN GOOD TIME.

At the congress, we declared ourselves in favor of all that. What is now at stake is to implement these principles and to consolidate them throughout the party. THIS IS THE CRUX OF THE PRESENT STRUGGLE, WHICH IS NOT GOING ON JUST WITHIN THE PARTY, AS SOME PEOPLE WOULD HAVE IT.... TRUTH TO TELL, THIS STRUGGLE IS GOING ON PRIMARILY BETWEEN THE CHAMPIONS AND OPPONENTS OF SOCIALISM.

[Question] In connection with that struggle, we have proclaimed the sloban "Who is not against us is with us!" This is what Janos Kadar said after the Hungarian counterrevolution.... Can this slogan be applied in our present situation? Older people also remember the slogan "Who is not with us is against us!" Is not the course of events pushing the political aktivs toward such a slogan?

[Answer] Slogans are good and useful in the political struggle if they are precisely interpreted. After all, the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) did its work and scored successes after the liberation by using the slogan "Who is not against us is with us!" It thus organized a bloc of the forces of people's democracy and attracted to the new Poland not only the proletarian masses and peasants, but also specialists, intellectuals, large sections of the Catholic communities and the young generation, which came after the Home Army [pro-Western underground army]. You must bear in mind that the Polish Workers' Party was a minority party, which also was physically active, which was accused of anti-national tendencies and searched for new roads and new solutions under horribly difficult material conditions and just as difficult political conditions...

[Question] Can such an analogy apply today?

[Answer] I do not know, but I think that it could be useful as a "working" term for the entire party and primarily for party aktivs. Of course, the times and conditions are different. That is why I do not want to persuade anyone to wade into the stream of those events, which is impossible, except to examine its sources. Such an examination makes one at times wiser and stronger, and this is what we very much need.

IS IT NOT ACTUALLY THOSE SOURCES THAT CONTINUE TO PRODUCE SUCH STRONG AND GENERAL EFFORTS OF THE PARTY MASSES TO SAVE THE LINE OF SOCIAL AGREEMENT? IT IS ONLY TOO EASY FOR SOME POLITICAL AKTIVS TO SEE IN THOSE EFFORTS ONLY THE RESULTS OF A SPELL CAST BY SOLIDARITY.

But is this a susceptibility to the politically false and morally inhuman slogan "Who is not with us is against us"? I would not accept such an accusation with regard to any section of the party aktivs committee on struggle. The results of such an attitude and concept was a too painful experience for the older people, which the younger people know from history. This attitude inspired a genuine drama experienced by the people and party, and represents a nightmare that the communist movement has got rid of for good.

IT IS A FACT THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE IN THE PARTY AND EVEN SMALL GROUPS OF PEOPLE WHO OPPOSE THE NINTH CONGRESS LINE. THIS IS AS TRUE AS THE FACT THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE AND SMALL GROUPS WHO ARE READY -- IN THE NAME OF FALSE CANDOR -- TO MAKE IDEOLOGICAL AND STATUTORY CONCESSIONS.

THERE ARE ALSO PEOPLE DEDICATED TO THE CAUSE WHO HAVE BEEN WRONGED. MANY HONEST AND RELIABLE PARTY, TRADE UNION, ECONOMIC AND ADMINSTRATIVE FUNCTIONARIES HAVE NOT BEEN DEFENDED BY US, AND THE PRICE THEY HAD TO PAY FOR THE MISDEEDS OF OTHERS WAS HIGH. THIS IS ONE OF THE TRUTHS ABOUT THE LAST YEAR -- A PAINFUL AND BITTER TRUTH WHICH HAS LEFT ITS MARK ON THE PEOPLE'S MINDS AND ATTITUDES. Without being aware of all these dramas, it is impossible to understand why people refuse to fight or are cautious in taking positions. Nor is it possible to understand the reasons for the clamor within the party to settle accounts with the guilty people. This is why it is our duty to settle these accounts honestly. We should not accept charges casually deposited and we must not treat slanders as evidence. We must punish the guilty and defend the honest.

If anything surprises me it is the ease with which people say in some party organizations: "What kind of punishment is that, taking a member's party card away from him?" This is what only people who have no emotional ties with the party, and not even an objective knowledge of the laws of the party, can say.

Let us return to the feelings and moral position of the aktivs. The situation is difficult and tough. People feel painful sores and suffer from nervous and physical exhaustion. This is the truth, but it is not true that we have developed the mentality of a besieged fortress. We do not regard everyone who differs from us in evaluations, who discusses things with us and criticizes, as an adversary. This is forturnate, because otherwise the party would be dead, which would be just as inevitable in social isolation as in social disintegration.

FOLLOWING AUGUST 1980, PEOPLE SPOKE AT TIMES ABOUT THE PARTY'S HUMILITY. THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE: EITHER HUMILITY OR ARROGANCE. A HUMBLE PARTY IS NOT USELESS. THE WORKERS CLASS, THE PEOPLE AND THE COUNTRY NEED IT. THE SAME CAN BE SAID OF AN ARROGANT AND SELF-CENTERED PARTY. WE NEED SOBRIETY, REALISM, ABILITY TO EVALUATE OURSELVES, TRUST IN OUR OWN STRENGTH AND COURAGE IN DEFENDING PRINCIPLES AND CONDUCTING DIALOGUE.

[Question] It is possible theoretically to visualize a most democratic party and in a very democratic state...and in a little democratic society....

[Answer] This is possible in theory. Democracy is a very difficult way of life -- for the government and for the governed. Our society has developed a great hunger for democracy and little inclincation to practice it. We could dispute whether democratic forms of government induce society to practice democracy or whether a democratic society teaches the government how to govern. Such a dispute is useless. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS TRUE THAT ALL OF US MUST LEARN DEMOCRACY FROM ONE ANOTHER, BEARING IN MIND THAT DEMOCRACY IS NOT ONLY FREEDOM, BUT ALSO SOCIAL DISCIPLINE, AND NOT ONLY THE RIGHT TO FREE SPEECH, BUT ALSO THE DUTY OF TOLERANCE. DEMOCRACY MEANS RESPECTING THE LAW AND FULFILLING ONE'S DUTIES.

During the precongress discussion people often expressed the noble view that we should turn the party into a model of democracy.

Perhaps it would be too presumptuous to claim that we are already much advanced along the road of democracy, but the thing is that we continue to encounter views that "such violations of democracy would never be possible in the party today." These views often originate with the movements and organizations that are very proud of their lofty principles of democratic freedoms.... This is something.

HOWEVER, IF WE WANT TO BE AN EXAMPLE OF DEMOCRACY WE MUST ALSO BE A MODEL OF DISCIPLINE. IT IS ONLY THE PARTY THAT IS ABLE -- THROUGH ITS DAILY ACTIVITIES -- TO IMPART THE MEANING AND SOCIAL STATUS TO DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, which is the basic internal party norm. It is true that this is an organizational norm, but it has an enormous educational significance. It shapes characters and attitudes, and develops relations among people as well as mutual requirements and duties. This also can constitute a way of life, which is surely not of the worst from the viewpoint of applied democracy.

[Question] Today the party is concerned with preserving its internal democracy and having a strong and efficient leadership. Perhaps this is the point....

[Answer] No doubt, but in practice a strong "top" is only too often seen as a panacea for all the "grassroots" ills, and yet this panacea may fail. The grassroots criticism of the leading echelons is now a fact, but the inverse criticism is often regarded as a violation of the rights won in struggle. HOWEVER, SUBSTITUTING UNCEASING DEBATES FOR SUPERCENTRALISM ANNULS THE RESULTS OF DEMOCRACY BECAUSE IT MAKES IMPOSSIBLE IMPLEMENTING THE COMMON DECISIONS. NO UNAIDED PARTY LEVEL DEPRIVED OF THE MILITANCY AND INITIATIVE OF THE BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WILL BE ABLE TO IMPLEMENT ANY DECISION, NOT EVEN THE MOST CORRECT ONE.

[Question] Do we therefore have the chance to be equal to the challenge of the times and to shoulder the burden of social needs?

[Answer] I believe deeply that THE EXPANSION OF ALL THE SELF-MANAGING FORMS OF SOCIETY'S ORGANIZATION IS THE KEY TO THIS PROBLEM. Despite the fears existing here and there, IT IS PRECISELY EXTENSIVE FORMS OF SELF-MANAGEMENT THAT PROVIDE THE GREATEST NATURAL POSSIBILITIES FOR THE PARTY TO FULFILL ITS MANAGING OR GUIDING OR LEADING FUNCTIONS, OR WHATEVER YOU CARE TO CALL THESE FUNCTIONS. THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-MANAGEMENT DO NOT MEAN THAT THE PARTY HAS TO "CLEAR THE FIELD"; ON THE CONTRARY THEY MEAN THAT THE PARTY HAS A GREAT CHANCE OF GAINING MORE.

OF COURSE, TODAY THERE ARE POLITICAL FORCES IN POLAND THAT WOULD LIKE TO SUBSTITUTE THEIR OWN FORM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT FOR ALL THE STRUCTURES OF SOCIALIST POWER. There have even been attempts -- under the guise of self-management -- to eliminate party organizations and committees from plants. THIS MEANS THAT WE WILL HAVE TO WAGE A HARD STRUGGLE FOR SELF-MANAGEMENT ALL ALONG THE FRONT OF SOCIALISM.

As you know, self-management is a condition for success of the economic reform, for expanding the social base of power in the country and for broad social changes. But it is not an alternative solution with regard to socialism!

[Question] Expanding the social base of power in the country as an element of socialist renewal -- is this not a tricky term?

[Answer] No, it is not. The term is a good key to the problem. It is obvious -- the Sejm is an example of it -- that we do not govern alone, but in an alliance with the fraternal political parties and other long-standing partners in the Catholic communities and in the church as such. It is our honest intention to have such partners in trade unions, in the self-governing and upgraded youth movement, in the regenerated cooperative movement, in the intelligentsia associations and in the regional sociocultural movements.

WE HAVE PROPOSED SUCH PARTNERSHIP BASED ON HONEST AND RELIABLE PRINCIPLES TO ALL FORCES OF COMMON SENSE AND RESPONSIBLITITY. THIS PROPOSAL IS NOTHING TRICKY.

THE LIMIT IS OPPOSITION AGAINST SOCIALISM. SUCH OPPOSING FORCES ARE INCREASINGLY ARTICULATE NOW, BUT THEY MUST BE LEFT OUT OF THE FORMULA FOR THE EXPANDED SOCIAL BASE OF POWER, BECAUSE THERE IS NO PLACE IN THE POWER IN POLAND FOR ANTISOCIALIST ACTIVITIES.

INSIDE THIS BASE ALL GROUPS, ORIENTATIONS AND TRENDS REFLECTING THE GENUINE BALANCE OF SOCIAL FORCES IN POLAND SHOULD FIND THEIR PLACE ON PARTNERLIKE PRINCIPLES. THEY SHOULD FIND THIS PLACE TOGETHER WITH THEIR OWN IDENTITIES AND THEIR OWN INDIVIDUAL IDEOLOGICAL FEATURES. IT IS GOOD TO KNOW THAT HE WHO SINGS RELIGIOUS SONGS PRAYING IN THIS WAY DOES NOT EXPRESS POLITICAL PROTEST. THIS IS GOOD FOR THE PARTY, THE STATE, THE BELIEVERS, THE NONBELIEVERS AND, IDARE SAY, FOR THE CHURCH.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT'S TASK IS TO FIGHT, NO MATTER HOW KEENLY, FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS AND INTERESTS, WITHOUT USING TRADE UNION PRINCIPLES FOR OTHER AIMS. THIS IS WHAT THE PARTY, THE STATE AND, ABOVE ALL, THE WORKING PEOPLE NEED.

THE OFFER OF PARTNERLIKE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN ADDRESSED NOT ONLY TO THE MANAGING CENTERS OF ORGANIZATIONS, MOVEMENTS AND ASSOCIATIONS, BUT TO ALL THE PEOPLE IN POLAND AND TO EVERY ONE OF THEM INDIVIDUALLY. If such agreement is really to save the country and people it must develop nationwide as well as in every voivodship, rural parish and vocational community.

I trust that there are in Poland places in which this agreement will develop more quickly, outstripping central decisions, supplying examples of good solutions and PROVING THAT -- WHILE DIFFERING IDEOLOGICALLY -- WE ARE ABLE TO ACT IN COMMON AS A NATION.

SLOWO POWSZECHNE CRITICIZES SEJM PRESIDIUM

AU271513 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 23 Nov 81 p 1

["MOS" commentary: "One-Sided Statement"]

[Text] The statement issued by the Sejm Presidium on the situation in the country was one of last week's important events. That document referred to the appeal for social calm unanimously adopted by our parliament at its most recent plenary session, and saying that our country could be raised from the crisis not through stirring up unrest, but through maintaining calm and arduous work. The Sejm Presidium indicated the fact that, notwithstanding this appeal, "social tension and, connected with that, danger to the state and the people persists in the country. Strikes are being used to settle questions that could and should be solved by other means."

In that context, the Sejm Presidium reiterated that, in its appeal for social calm, the "Sejm also announced that, if its appeal proves to be ineffective, if the nation's existence is in danger and a state of emergency is proclaimed, the Sejm will examine a motion to provide the government with the legal means required by the situation." As is known, a draft act restricting the right to strike has been submitted to the Sejm Presidium.

In our opinion, the quoted statement, irrespective of its intention, is striking for its one-sidedness and, as a consequence, does not serve the cause of social calm and accord. First of all, it brushes aside the qualitative change that has taken place in the situation since the most recent Sejm plenary session. The most serious hotbeds of strikes (Tarnobrzeg, Zielona Gora and Sosnowiec mine) have been extinghished. That occurred with the great participation of Solidarity's central authorities. The world press, for example, unanimously interpreted the suspension of the strike in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship as Lech Walesa's success. In our opinion, a statement of the highest political importance must not overlook such circumstances.

True enough, new strikes are always breaking out. A strike alert is being proclaimed, sometimes even for absurd reasons (an article in the press). But there are also more complex reasons, and an honorary place among them belongs to inefficiency or even the will of the local administration (as in the case of the Sosnowiec mine).

The fact that strikes are getting out of the control of central or even regional trade union authorities results, to a large extent, from the illusions and activities of all those who think that the party could build up its prestige at the expense of Solidarity's prestige. Things look differently: Solidarity losses only boost uncontrolled chaos. It is also characteristic that strikes are the means being increasingly frequently resorted to by Industrial Branch Trade Union organizations which can hardly be suspected of an antiparty disposition.

It is known that the draft act suspending the right to strike cannot be expected to meet with support in the Sejm as unanimous as that given to the appeal for social calm. Substantial reservations have primarily been raised by Catholic and nonparty deputies, as well as by representatives of the democratic and the United Peasant Parties. It would also be advisable to refer here to the most recent decision adopted by the Pax association board, and firmly specifying the position of the Polish Pax circle on this issue: "That problem (uncontrolled strike actions -- author's note) can only be settled and positive motives for work can only be provided on a political basis, through eliminating the socio-economic causes of that phenomenon. A ban of strikes, issued under the present conditions and without reaching a comprehensive agreement among the decisive social forces...would be ineffective, would lower the prestige of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, and would provide the seeds for new conflicts."

We do not believe that the working people in Poland would give up the right to strike won with such effort. The issue must be regulated, but by way of passing the -- blocked for unknown reasons -- act on trade unions, which guarantees and at the same time restricts the right to strike. The rest depends on the civil attitudes of the working people as a whole and on their confidence in the authorities.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY URGES NEED FOR SACRIFICES

LD301626 Warsaw PAP in English 1407 GMT 30 Nov 81

["In Interest of the State and Citizens" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Nov (PAP) -- The Warsaw newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY today wrote that "time and calm are needed for successful solution of our political problems. And we lack both. Every now and then, small and big conflicts burst out, spreading fast on and putting the authorities and the society in the state of emergency. No wonder then that calls for firm counter-action against anarchy in our socio-economic life are growing in force...It made a topic both at the PUWP CC 6th plenary meeting, in its resolution and in the proposed bill on special measures to be taken in the interest of the citizens and the state.

"One may expect that the issue of special measures will arouse many controversies, though everybody is fed up with strikes. It is hard to (?anticipate) how would the question of conscious limitation of the recently acquired rights be approached by workers, whose civic consciousness, the consciousness of the entire society and not only the consensus of Sejm deputies, will decide about both the contents and effectiveness of the law. Let us, of course, be aware that our currently dramatic situation requires sacrifice, including limitation of civil rights.

"It might be worthwhile to take a look at the map of hotbeds of tension in the country and draw proper political conclusions. Why tensions are more frequent in one region than in another? And yet, there are regions in this country where people reach agreement without the use of government commissions, where the real front of national accord is already being formed among worker crews without waiting for approval from 'the top'," concluded ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

OPERATIONAL GROUPS BEGIN WORK NATIONWIDE

Work in 150 Centers

LD262130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] One hundred fifty municipal local operational groups, appointed on the basis of the Council of Ministers resolution, have begun their activity. They are concerning themselves with assisting the organs of the state administration and the enterprises, institutions and works subject to these organs, to implement the programs connected with the preparation for winter, especially in the area of heat engineering, power industry, municipal transportation, the cleaning of the towns, clearing roads of snow and the functioning of the housing economy. The municipal local operational groups have assumed patronage over all the voivodship administrative centers and over the larger municipal conurbations. Representatives of professional cadres and soldiers doing extended basic military service, and soldiers who have completed 1 year's service, make up the groups.

Work in Gorzow Begun

LD300906 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] An urban operational group consisting of 14 people, both officers and soldiers of the Polish People's Army, has begun work in Gorzow. The task of this team is to render assistance to the state administration, enterprises and institutions in making preparations for the winter. The operational group is especially interested in the power industry, heating, roads and transportation and in the organization of aid to disabled people and to schools and nurseries.

More Details on Tasks

LD302128 Warsaw PAP in English 2034 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Nov (PAP) -- 150 regional military operational groups which since November 26 have been working in all major cities of Poland centre their efforts on aiding the local organs of state administration in implementing their tasks connected with the indispensable preparations for approaching winter.

These efforts are concerned first of all with ensuring smooth functioning of the central heating and electric energy supply systems, the snow removing services as well as proper distribution of articles sold under the rationing system.

The military groups have also launched actions to prevent waste and mismanagement and are controlling the operation of transport, the unloading and storage of goods delivered to the cities.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE CONGRESS OPENS IN WARSAW 28 NOV

Barcikowski, Others Attend

LD282148 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Nov (PAP) -- The 8th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish Women's League started here today. Taking part in it are nearly 400 delegates of the organization's half a million members. The congress is also attended by PUWP CC Political Bureau members PUWP CC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski and Zofia Grzyb, as well as vice-chairman of the United Peasant Party's Central Committee Jozef Kukulka, and Vice-Premier Andrzej Jedynak.

In the course of the debate, support was voiced for the idea of the front of national accord, and calls were made for discontinuing strikes and launching firm struggle against anarchy and lawlessness.

Zofia Grzyb announced that a commission for women will be set up at the PUWP Central Committee. She described the situation in the country as critical and said every citizens and every group of people are now trying to fight for their interests irrespective of whether they do collide with the social interest or not. "All this is accompanied by political struggle and growing delinquency rates. The implementation of the idea of the national accord front submitted by the PUWP, is the precondition for normalization of the situation." In this context Zofia Grzyb said women, who form a significant social force, should play a considerable role in the realization of the above idea.

Congress Concludes 30 Nov

LD302130 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Nov (PAP) -- The 8th National Congress of the Women's League delegates concluded its debates here today with the adoption of a new programme of the organization, introduction of changes in its statute and election of the league's new supreme authorities.

The newly adopted programme of the league, whose official name from now on is the "League of Polish Women", voices the organization's support for the idea of the front of national accord in which it wants to participate as an equal partner of other progressive forces of the country. It also states that the league's aim is to protect the constitionally guaranteed equality of rights for women, to ensure women's participation in decision making process in the bodies of political, administrative and economic authority.

The newly elected chairman of the league of Polish women is Jadwiga Biedrzycka, the hitherto chairman of the league's board in the city of Wloclawek.

PRICE INCREASES FOR ALCOHOLIC DRINKS OUTLINED

LD302238 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] A press conference is being held at the Council of Ministers on the subject of increased retail prices for alcholic beverages; the new prices will be in force from tomorrow.

The prices of spirit products will rise on average by 75 percent, of domestic wines by 80 percent, of imported wines by 40 percent, and of beer by 70 percent.

The need for the price changes was justified by Finance Minister Marian Krzak and Minister Zdzislaw Krasinki from the State Price Commission.

Journalists were informed that the total financial effects will give the state treasury Z135 billion next year. Some of this money will be earmarked for the needs of the health service and for combating alcoholism. The rise in the prices of alcoholic beverages does not alter the existing system of rationing.

SLOWO POWSZECHNE COMMENTS ON ECONOMIC REFORM

AU252022 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 19 Nov 81 p 1

[Commentary by M. Mat: "Provisional Measures and Reform"]

[Text] On 1 January of next year new principles for running the national economy were to be introduced. The date for setting in motion the comprehensive reform decisions which are supposed to lead our country out of the crisis as quickly as possible was already known many months ago.

This is the time it also took to carryout the legislative preparations for drawing up the principles for the functioning of self-managing, independent and self-financing enterprises. However, today -- not quite 6 weeks before the implementation of those decisions -- it is obvious that the deadline will not be met.

It will not be met not only because out of the entire package of necessary laws only two until now have been adopted -- the one on the workers' self-management groups and the one on the state enterprise -- and the remaining laws are in such a state that it will probably be impossible to pass them until the end of December. They will not be met primarily because all the present forecasts and hopes for a quick implementation of the reform have been frustrated by the Council of Ministers draft decree concerning the activities of state enterprises in 1982.

The so-called systemic provisional measures -- for this is how this document is commonly known -- are nothing other than a preservation of the present methods of economic management, mainly of the command-and-distribution system, which consequently represents a total denial of the principle of the three "S" [self-management, self-dependence and self-financing] and which continue to make basic production units dependent on the economic administration that is still being excessively expanded and that in many cases is incompetent.

As representatives of the Solidarity network of factory organizations rightly said at the recent meeting, the document in question would not set the economy on the road to reform. On the contrary, the document contains a number of rules conflicting with the logic of the reform. It also suggests that further legislative work on reform is unnecessary, which almost automatically gives the central administration the possibility of blocking the reform in those areas to which the decree does not apply.

This lack of consistency in the authorities' activities with regard to the preliminary assumptions, which nevertheless had been adopted earlier, is evident in the announcement that the provisional measures can be extended for more than a year until more favorable, objective conditions for reform are present. In other words, we can assume that if it is impossible to create such conditions, then economic reform will not be implemented at all.

The advocates of the proposed solution -- they include Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski, chairman of the team that drew up the provisional measures, and a team of Warsaw University scientists -- have drawn attention to the fact that the deep crisis is creating the worst possible conditions for reforming the economic system, which is also struggling with the chronic lack of foreign currency, with the shortage of raw and other materials, with the price chaos and lack of confidence in money. And this is true.

At the same time, it is also true that the present deep crisis is inter alia the result of chronically bad management and a number of other faults in the economic system. Therefore, retaining the present system unchanged and maintaining the same powers in the various levels of management threatens to exacerbate all the difficulties we are facing daily.

However, despite these reservations, it is hard to be totally against the provisional measures. Considerations of whether the economy should be first repaired and then reformed or whether the system should be improved at once, regardless of the mounting difficulties, are in fact purely academic. The only point is that the reform should begin to function as quickly as possible and that it should be effective.

This can be achieved even with those provisional measures on the condition, however, that they be stipulated for a strictly defined period of time (up to the end of 1982 at the latest) with no possibility whatsoever of prolonging this deadline and on the assumption that all preparations for the reform will be completed well before this date.

COAL INDUSTRY'S PROBLEMS VIEWED, ANALYZED

Obodowski Views Problems

LD252212 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Nov (PAP) -- Vice-Premier Janusz Obodowski has granted an interview to a PAP journalist in which he said, inter alia:

In our country coal is almost the sole source of energy. Having had an abundance of coal we did not take proper care to use it economically and we have wasted much of our coal. However, the fact is that this year coal output will by as much as 31 million tonnes smaller compared with 1980, falling from 193 to 162 million tonnes, which amounts to nearly one-sixth of last year's output. It will not be possible in such a short time radically to rationalize coal consumption. This is why the full demand for coal cannot be satisfied. But this shortage cannot affect agricultural and food production and the heating of flats, hospitals or creches, although the temperature in flats will have to be lowered from 20 to 18 degrees centigrade. Coal supplies for production purposes will drop by more than 14 million tonnes.

Coal export has fallen by 50 percent. This means that our principal foreign currency source necessary for purchases abroad of raw materials, parts and installations has dried out. It has been only with the greatest difficulty that we have been able recently to scrape together some hard currency for imports of materials and spare parts for the coalmining industry. Industrial production losses this year caused by lack of imported supplies will amount to 500 billion zlotys. This is why further reduction in coal export would bring about shutdown of Poland's industry, and we cannot agree to such policy.

Asked about government plans to adjust the economy to smaller coal consumption, Vice-Premier Obodowski said:

[Word indistinct] of all emphasis is placed on eliminating wasteful use of coal. Moreover, a number of measures taken by the government are aimed at rationalizing coal use in the economy. This will involve gradual replacement of outdated boilers and installations, modernization of the heating systems and more efficient use of recycled heat and steam.

As it is known, the price of coal and electric energy is much lower than the cost of coal extraction and energy generation. This encourages wasteful use of coal firewood, peat or briquettes would suffice. [as received] The raising of coal and energy prices should be one element prompting rational use of these energy sources.

Coal Industry Analyzed

LD272351 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Nov (PAP) -- The coal industry: its potential and present problems.

The approach of Polish Miners Day, which is marked on 4 December, leads one to think about the current state of the mining industry in Poland. Automatically the question arises as to what the reason is for the drop in coal extraction this year which will be 162-163 million tons and will be 31 million tons lower than last year and 26 million tons below the planned level. Coal extraction is carried out at 66 existing mines, which are situated mostly in Upper Silesia. For the purpose of maintaining and securing the development of the coal extraction front the miners have in the course of one year constructed over 1,200 km of drifts [horizontal mine passageways] and sunk about two km of shafts at the mines. The coal extraction front is 115 km in length. A system of development by means of drifts prevails in the Polish mining industry.

At the present time 405,000 people are working in the mining industry.

The workers and managers of enterprises and the government are taking various measures in order to increase coal extraction and decrease losses caused by the reduced working time in the mining industry. A total of 998 km of new drifts have been constructed within the framework of so-called preparatory work. The production of spare parts for mining equipment and machines has risen by over a half and the overall figure for the breakdown of machines and equipment at the mines has been reduced.

Of particular importance are measures directed at increasing the number of workers which [word indistinct] in all mines during the first three quarters of this year by 19,700 people.

All these measures are facilitating a gradual increase in coal extraction. On average the daily extraction rate in the third quarter of this year was 592,600 tons and the Saturday rate was 145,000 tons. At present the rate on normal days is 600,000 tons and on Saturdays 270-280,000 tons.

The coal balance, compiled by the main energy inspectorate in conjunction with the Council of Ministers' Planning Committee, envisages that this year supplies for the national economy will be 17.7 million tons lower than last year, that is 10.6 percent lower. At the same time this year's exports of coal will increase by 15 million tons (that is by 49.4 percent). The general purpose power industry will this year receive 5.8 million tons less coal while the metallurgical and machine building industries will get 4 million tons less, including 2.6 million tons less coking coal. Supplies will also be decreased for the building industry, transport and also for communal and household purposes. It is only for agriculture and the food industry that coal supplies will be marginally increased (by 1.3 percent).

An answer to the question of whether this deficit can be limited next year and whether we can begin to emerge from the crisis depends on the work of the miners.

FOOD ECONOMY COUNCIL DISCUSSES AGRICULTURE

LD262150 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Nov (PAP) -- A draft programme of the development of Polish agriculture and food economy in the years 1981-85 was the subject of the session of the Food Economy Council which debated in Warsaw yesterday under the chairmanship of Farming Minister Jerzy Wojtecki.

The chief assumption of the draft programme is the halting of downward tendencies in agriculture and, next, the stimulation of farming production in a way which would ensure an average 2.1 per cent annual growth of production throughout the quinquennium. The draft envisages that in 1985 the use of mineral fertilizers must amount to 220 kgs per one hectare as a condition of obtaining 29 quintals of grains from one hectare. This is indispensable to attain in the final year of the present quinquennium the per capita consumption of meat of over 60 kgs (by some 3 kgs more than in 1981 but still by 10 kgs less than in 1980).

This solution would require that Poland imports annually 2 million tons of grains and 1.6 million tons of fodders, which with a simultaneous export of some 300,000 tons of meat would allow Poland to improve her agricultural produce trade balance, still leaving, however, a deficit of 600 million dollars.

The Food Economy Council team found such agricultural produce trade balance unacceptable and pointed out that Poland should either curb its annual consumption of meat to below 60 kgs per capita or increase the production of grains to above the already mentioned 29 quintals per hectare which would ensure an increased production of meat and put its consumption at 67 kgs annually.

Experts participating in the yesterday's session of the Food Economy Council were concordant that the Polish society should realize that excessive trend towards the growth of meat consumption leads to economic disaster, and should put some reasonable limits to it.

It was stressed simultaneously that this can be done only when the market becomes better supplied in other food articles: flour and dairy products.

Therefore, the development of plant production was postulated as the priority task in the efforts to improve the situation in Polish agriculture and food economy. It was stressed that this required an essential reorientation of industrial production to the needs of farming, especially of developing the vital chemical industry production, and also spendings on the construction of such indispensable projects in the countryside as drainage and water supply systems, as well as food processing plants.

The remarks to the draft agricultural programmes made during the session will help to formulate its final version before it is submitted to the government.

COMMENTARY ON CURRENT AGRICULTURAL SITUATION

LD262338 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Nov (PAP) -- Thanks to favorable climatic conditions the current year in Polish agriculture is one of the successful and plentiful ones. About 2 million tons of grain crops more than last year have been harvested, about 20 million tons more of potatoes and about 1 million tons more vegetables. This year's sugar beet harvest was about 6 million tons up on last year's.

Despite the better harvest the purchasing of agricultural produce, apart from vegetables and sugar beet, is considerably worse than a year ago. In particular, the purchasing of grain crops is more than 560,000 tons less. More than 2 million tons of potatoes more than in the same period last year have been bought but only about 60 percent of the planned total.

Particularly worrying is the purchasing of cattle. This purchasing, together with domesticated poultry, has been 22 percent less than in the same period last year. In October farmers delivered to purchasing points about 129,000 tons of animals for slaughter, that is 80,000 tons less than last October. The drop in the purchasing of animals for slaughter is considerably greater than the drop in the number of cattle. A reason for this state of affairs is the increasing sale of pigs directly to consumers or traders.

Also having an effect on the drop in the purchasing of animals for slaughter are the nonfulfillment by the state of urgent supplies for agriculture and also the hanging on to cattle as a result of the deteriorating political and economic situation of the country and the drop in the value of money.

The increase in prices from 1 October for the purchasing of pigs by an average [word indistinct] Z110 per kilo has not produced the expected results, either. In this situation the sale of means of production and goods in exchange for supplies of animals for slaughter was introduced on a temporary basis as from 1 November of this year for 2 months. Sales of this kind have had some effect on a slight improvement in purchasing.

SDUF CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM 24 NOV

AU250938 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1935 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Nov (AGERPRES) -- On November 24, Bucharest hosted the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization [SDUF]. The plenary meeting debated the Draft Single National Plan for Romania's Economic and Social Development in 1982; the draft plan for the development of agriculture and food industry in 1982; the programme regarding the self-management and self-supply by territorial units in view of ensuring agricultural-animal and vegetable-products to the population over 1982-1985; the report on the political organizational and education activity carried out by the Socialist Democracy and Unity organizations.

During the debates the floor was taken by a large number of speakers of most varied professions.

The speakers highlighted the documents submitted for debate reflect conspiciously the constant care manifest by the party and state for Romania's economic and social development, for improving, setting out from these grounds, the standard of living of the working people. The fact was stressed that the stipulations of the drafts single national plan for economic and social development and of the draft plan for development of agriculture and food industry in 1982 were in tune with the guidelines established by the 12th Congress of the RCP, with the requirements regarding the raising to a higher quality stage of the entire economic and social activity. At the same time revealed was the fact that the programme regarding the self-management and self-supply by territorial units, the measures recently adopted on this line resulted in adequate supply to the population, in tune with the principles of socialist ethics and equity, of a rational balanced nourishment of all inhabitants, both in the rural and in the urban zone.

On behalf of the organizations they represent, the participants in the debates have taken the pledge to act for improving continuously the SDUF activity, for consolidating it politically and organizationally, for integrating it to a greater extent in the country's political, social and economic life, for mobilizing the energy of all its members in view of implementing the tasks set for the next year.

The speaker expressed full adhesion to the latest peace initiatives of President Nicolae Ceausescu as included in the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] appeal.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WORKING PEOPLE HOLDS PLENUM

Elections Held 24 Nov

AU251042 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Gathered on November 24 in Bucharest, the legislative chamber of people's councils analyzed the implementation of the plan for 1981 by territorial units and debated and approved important bills aiming at the economic and social development of the country in 1982.

In accordance with the functioning regulations of the legislative chamber a new bureau was elected for one year, and it is made up of: Pavel Aron, in the office of chairman of the chamber, Letitia Ionas, Ion Cioara and Stefan Szanto, in the office of vice-chairmen, Florea Ristache, Eva Richter and Mircea Dutulescu, as secretaries.

Ceausescu Address

AU271723 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Nov 81 pp 1 and 2

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the conclusion of the plenum of the National Council of Working People, on 24 November in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the plenum of the working people's National Council discussed the agenda points in detail. The participants highlighted the important results attained in the first year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan for Romania's socioeconomic development. Likewise, they revealed shortcomings and deficiences, and harshly criticized several ministries and central bodies, including the Council of Ministers, as well as certain centrals and enterprises. A self-criticial attitude was adopted in connection with the shortcomings manifest in 1981. However, I must openly state that, in view of the serious shortcomings in the activity of certain central bodies and of the management of certain centrals and enterprises, one would have expected a more self-critical attitude and a more courageous uncovering of deficiencies in organizing and running the overall activity, since only a firm critical and self-critical attitude and the determination to adopt measures to correct mistakes and improve the activity can guarantee the elimination of shortcomings and ensure a better management and organization of activities in 1982.

Several commitments were made here and a number of proposals were advanced both in the plenum and in the discussions in sections. All collective leaderships of ministries, centrals, enterprises and central bodies must ensure the commendable and timely resolution of all problems discussed here, in order to thus lay a sound foundation for fulfilling the 1982 plan.

The plenum of the working people's National Council unanimously approved the 1982 plan. Its goals and provisions ensure implementation of the 12th party congress decisions on continuously developing the national economy, attaining a new quality of work and life, ensuring Romania's transition to a new development stage and continuously raising the people's material and intellectual living standard -- the supreme goal of our community party's policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are building in Romania. (loud and prolonged applause)

In accordance with the decisions of the 12th congress and the goals of the 1982 plan, we must give priority next year to better ensuring domestic energy sources, oil and coal, utilizing new energy sources and implementing the program established for this field. Another important priority issue is to resolutely proceed to cut down energy and fuel consumption, this being the surest source of energy and fuel, which must be used rationally and sparingly.

It is also necessary to pay great attention to ensuring raw materials, metallurgical, chemical, construction and other materials, required for the smooth unfolding of the entire economic activity.

Therefore, the questions of raw materials and energy sources must be given prime place and must be the main concern of the Council of Ministers, central bodies, ministries and all working people in the respective sectors. The energy and raw materials issue is the basic factor for fulfilling the plan and the 12th congress decisions, ensuring the fatherland's overall development and raising the people's well-being. We must appropriately resolve these problems! (loud applause)

We have everything necessary today; we have the necessary reserves and the plan takes this into consideration. We have the necessary material base, machine-tools and equipment, and we must rationally utilize them in production and all fields. First of all, we have powerful collectives of working people in all these sectors. They are detachments which have always proven that they are capable of commendably fulfilling the highly responsible tasks set by the party and the requirements of our socialist society, and to meet the expectations and trust of our entire nation. It is necessary for all working people in these sectors and the collective leaderships to take responsible action in this respect, and I am convinced that they will do this! (loud and prolonged applause)

It is also necessary to take resolute measures in all other economic sectors -- the machine-building industry, light industry and so forth -- to commendably fulfill plan provisions in all fields, both the item-specified production and all varieties envisaged in the plan. We have appropriate production capacities and equipment in all fields to fulfill and even exceed the planned production. Good organization and responsibility for fulfilling tasks on time are the key elements.

It is obvious that the machine-building industry, metallurgy, chemistry and other ministries bear the particular responsibility of ensuring materials, machine-tools, equipment and everything else required, including spare parts, for all sectors of the national economy.

It is high time that we put an end to the inadmissible state of affairs of neglecting the production of spare parts, assembly parts and other equipment required for the proper functioning of existing production capacities.

I would like to reiterate what I said at the 12th party congress; namely, that we must give priority to ensuring the proper maintenance and capital repairs of available means, since they are decisive for the commendable fulfillment of plan provisions. Therefore, the ministries producing spare parts for all fields, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Supply and Fixed Assets and generally speaking the entire Council of Ministers should take resolute measures to carry out the tasks set by the 12th party congress and to fulfill the 1982 plan provisions. We have everything necessary to attain all this and I would like to express the conviction that the working people in all branches of material production will take responsible action to honor the trust and expectations of our people. (loud applause)

All this requires a continuous improvement of the planning and management of all activity. Many comrades have seriously criticized, and rightly so, both the planning and technical-material supply bodies and the management councils of ministries. It is necessary to increase the role of the management councils of ministries. We must also increase the role of the management councils of centrals and of the enterprise working people's councils in properly organizing and running all activity. All these bodies have full rights and responsibilities, in accordance with legal provisions, in ensuring the proper planning of activities, resolving the complex problems of production and fully utilizing production capacities and means.

As representatives of the working people, the working people's councils must fulfill their great responsiblities and ensure the active participation of all working people, regardless of nationality, in running the entire socioeconomic activity.

The working people's general meetings must become more active. It is true that they are being held regularly to discuss problems; however, I would like to openly state that in many cases negative states of affairs are overlooked too easily. The participants in general meetings -- in their capacity as producers, end-users and molders of the destiny of our socialist fatherland -- take insufficient action to bring to account those who do not do their duty. It is necessary to turn the general meetings, as envisage in the laws adopted today, into leading and decisionmaking bodies which must discuss and take steps against those cadres who are not appropriately fulfilling tasks in the management of the respective enterprises and institutions. The Executive Bureau of the working people's National Council must also check and better organize the functioning of the activity of working people's councils in centrals, enterprises and institutions.

We must understand that the organizational activity to implement the country's decisions and laws is decisive for commendably fulfilling the 1982 plan and the 5-year plan.

It is necessary to firmly act to strengthen the revolutionary workers responsibility, discipline and order in the activity of all working people's councils, from top to bottom, and all working people's collectives.

Proceeding from the discussions in the National Council plenum and the conclusions on the fulfillment of the 1981 plan, once back home we must act to commendably fulfill the 1981 plan in the time left until the end of the year, by putting particular emphasis on item-specified production and production earmarked for export. Likewise, we must firmly act to thoroughly prepare the 1982 plan, to conclude the finalization of contracts in the coming few days, and to proceed to thoroughly prepare for next year's production. We must strive to ensure that, as of the start of 1982, from the very first day, all activity will unfold at a steady rate, all plan provisions will be fulfilled and all lags from 1981 are recovered. We have a 5-year plan and we must be fully aware of the fact and clearly understand that we are responsible for fully attaining its provisions, and that the 1981 failures cannot be taken out of the plan, but that they have to be added to the plans for the next years, primarily for 1982. Therefore, we must proceed from the need to fully carry out the 5-year plan provisions year by year, and to do our utmost to recover any losses in the coming period. This is the way we must understand the 5-year plan and the revolutionary workers responsibility in running the national economy. (loud applause)

The resolution of the working people's National Council actually contains what has been discussed in the plenum and the conclusions jointly up on this occasion. The appeal addressed to all collective leaderships and working people calls up on them to unite their efforts to work better and in a more organized way to commendably fulfill plan provisions. I express the conviction that all working people's councils, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all our people will answer the resolution and appeal of the working people's national council through consistent work, and will commendably fulfill the 1981 and 1982 plan provisions. (loud and prolonged applause)

During the discussions, participants stressed the need to intensify the efforts of our party and state for disarmament, primarily nuclear, and for a Europe without nuclear missiles and weapons, a Europe of peaceful cooperation. Indeed, the struggle for disarmament and peace is the key issue of our days. The fulfillment of our congress' decisions and Romania's progress toward building the comprehensively developed socialist society can only be attained under conditions of lasting peace and cooperation in the world. Only under conditions of peace and cooperation can the peoples of the world attain their goals for progress. Therefore, we are determined to do everything possible to pool our efforts with the efforts of peoples in Europe and throughout the world to ensure peace, respect for national independence, a world without nuclear weapons or any kind of weapons, a world of equality of rights and social and national justice, and a better and more just world on our planet. (loud applause; chants: "Ceausescu-Peace!")

In conclusion, I would like to express the conviction that the discussions in the National Council and the decisions adopted will mark an important point in the struggle to eliminate shortcomings and improve activities in all fields, and that all members of the National Council, once back home in their places of work, will take responsible steps to implement the decisions adopted, thus demonstrating that this high forum of our workers democracy is commendably fulfilling its role as organizer and leader of the united work of the working people, under the leadership of the RCP, the leading political force of our nation. (loud and prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!")

With this conviction, I wish all working people's councils, all working people and all of you ever greater success in your entire activity, much health and happiness! Work well comrades! (loud applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" All those present in the plenum hall stand up and give a prolonged cheer for the RCP, its Central Committee and party secretary general and president of the country Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

Appeal for Peace

AU251008 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 24 Nov 81

["Appeal Addressed by the National Council of Working People to the Working Class, to All Working People in Romania, to Peace-Loving Forces, to Peoples the World Over for Concerted Actions Devoted to Peace and Disarmament" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The National Council of Working People, gathered in plenum on November 23 and 24, 1981 addressed a rousing appeal to the working class, to all working people in Romania, to the workers the world over to rally their ranks, to rally their forces, to act most energetically and vigorously for the removal of the danger of a new world war, for taking, till it is not too late, real measures for halting the arms race, for passing to disarmament, nuclear disarmament first of all, for entrenching a climate of security, cooperation and peace in Europe and the world over.

The working class, the working people all over Romania, shows the appeal, express their unanimous and full adhesion to the bright peace initiative of President Nicolae Ceausescu stemmed from high care and responsibility for the life and quiet of the Romanian people, of all nations of the world, to the appeal of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] -- a telling expression of the consistent, profoundly humanist policy of the RCP and Romanian state in the service of peace, of understanding among peoples, of building a weaponless and warless world, of building a luminous future for the whole of mankind.

In behalf of man's supreme right to life and peace, the working class, the working people in Romania say a firm, energetic no to war, to tension, to the aberrant arms race, nuclear race above all, which have taken on unprecedented scope, endangering the future of the whole of mankind, the destinies of human civilization.

After pointing out that the defence of peace is one of the most luminous traditions of the working class in Romania, the appeal stresses that today, when in Romania the people build, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, the justest of the systems, peace is vitally necessary for the carrying through of the programme of development of the homeland, of building the socialist society and communism. The cause of peace and collaboration is part and parcel of the life conception of the Romanian people, of the socialist society we are building, is one with the noble ideals of socialism and communism.

Stressing that the ample public meetings, rallies, peace marches participated in by hundreds upon hundreds of Romanian citizens, express the will of the entire people to see an undelayed passage to the cessation of the arms race, of the atomic arming first of all, and everything done in defence of the fundamental right of humans, of people -- the right to life and peace, the right to work, to free and dignified existence. [as received]

The appeal expresses the attachment of the Romanian working class to the working people, to the peoples of the West European countries who, in ample movements for halting the emplacement of new medium-range missiles on the continent, for preventing the production of the neutron bomb affirm their will to develop free, protected against the danger of a devastating war.

The working class, the working people in Socialist Romania -- aware of the fact that the struggle for disarmament, for peace is a fundamental problem of our days -- express their full solidarity with all those standing and struggling against the arms race, against war, and they address to workers, to working people on all continents the appeal for taking action in close unity, alongside the other peace-loving forces in order to induce the governments, parliaments, state executives to unfold a policy of security, international detente and collaboration, inbued with the feeling of responsibility for the fate of the peoples, the appeal shows.

The appeal exhorts the working class in Romania to request the immediate halting of the arms race and the undelayed adoption of practical, concrete measures of disarmament, nuclear above all, to act together with the other peoples for the halting of the emplacement and deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and for a passage to the gradual withdrawal and dismantlement of the existing ones.

We address today an ardent appeal to workers in all countries of Europe, America and the other continents to act with worker's firmness and revolutionary spirit, in full unity, in order to induce the partisans of arming to give up their dangerous policy, to put an end to the use of force and threat with force, so that all litigious issues may be solved only by peaceful means, by negotiations, the appeal shows.

Peace, life, are ideals which rally us today more than ever into a strong front of struggle, irrespective of philosophical or religious beliefs.

It is up to us, the working class, all peoples to spare the world a nuclear catastrophe.

Let us firmly impose our will to see a passage to the cutting down of the arming expenditures which weigh ever more heavily on the peoples, on the working masses in the first place. Let us induce the use of the huge material and human resources now spent for military purposes, for peaceful production, or the progress and welfare of the peoples, for ridding the world of unemployment and starvation.

Let us do so that the policy of disarmament may contribute to filling the gaps among states, to the establishment of the new economic order, to ensuring the world progress and stability.

Let us join our efforts in order to induce the United Nations organization, other international organizations to make an increased contribution to and to act more actively for the fulfillment of mankind's aspirations after peace and progress, for building confidence and strengthening collaboration on an equal footing among all nations and peoples.

The working class, all working people in Romania greet enthusiastically the big actions for peace and disarmament taking place today in Europe and in other regions of the world. They prove, once again, the force of the working class, the decisive role the broad popular masses, the peoples play in the settlement of the big problems concerning mankind's peace and progress, in the assertion of a new policy of detente, of peaceful, free and independent development of all nations.

The working class, the advanced forces everywhere can be sure that they have found in Romania's working class, in all her working people firm champions of the cause of peace, resolved fighters for disarmament and security, enthusiastic militants for international understanding and cooperation, for building a climate of quiet and constructive work on the whole planet.

From the rostrum of this high forum of our worker's democracy -- the appeal reads in conclusion -- the National Council of Working People, in the name of the working class, of all working people in Romania, we express our determination to do our best so as to join our efforts to the efforts of the European peoples, the peoples in the whole world in order to impose peace. We are firmly convinced that, by acting in close unity, the peoples, the broad popular masses of the whole planet will succeed in asserting their will of peace and disarmament, of building a better life in a world of justice and equity, welfare and progress.

Plenum Resolution 24 Nov

AU271923 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Nov 81 p 4

["Resolution of the National Council of Working People in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Goods Circulation and Finances" adopted at the 24 November Bucharest plenum of the National Council of Working People]

[Text] The National Council of Working People -- in a spirit of high worker exactingness and combativeness and in light of the important orientations and recommendations by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and chairman of the working people's national council, included in his speech to the second congress of the working people's councils -- discussed the implementation of plan provisions for the first 10 months of this year, and the Draft Uniform National Plan for the Country's Socioeconomic development in 1982. Likewise, the working people's national council examined proposals to modify law No 5/1978 on organizing and leading socialist units, and law No 30/1977 on increasing the role of the congress and National Council of the Working People and setting up county bodies of workers self-management. In accordance with the consistent concerns of our party-state leadership to continuously increase the living standard in improving the quality of life, the plenum examined programs to ensure regional self-management and self-supply for the 1982-85 period, and the program of supplies to the people for the fourth quarter of 1981 and the first half of 1982.

The National Council appreciates the efforts by the working people in the first year of the 1981-85 5-year plan to carry out plan tasks, to rapidly increase the national wealth and to create all conditions to implement the program of raising all the people's material and intellectual living standard.

The plenum stressed the ever more important role devolving on collective management bodies in enterprises, centrals, ministries and other central bodies in successfully implementing our party's concept on increasingly asserting workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration. As a result of activities carried out by the working people's collectives in the first 10 months of the current year, the main plan indexes were exceeded this year compared with achievements in the corresponding period of the previous year; namely, with regard to item-specified production, net production, profits and reducing material expenditures and the consumption of raw and other materials, fuel and energy.

The reports presented and the speeches made by the participants in discussions revealed that, aside from the progress in all fields of social life, there were also a number of serious shortcomings in the work of collective management bodies in ministries, centrals and enterprises, and in the activity of the government.

The plenum assessed that the lags recorded in coal, oil and electricity production, with important negative consequences for the national economy, are due to a large extent to deficient work of management councils and particularly of certain leading cadres in the respective ministries, and to the poor concern for resolving certain key and basic problems facing the centrals and enterprises. Likewise, the management councils of the ministries of metallurgical industry and chemical industry were harshly criticized for the nonfulfillment of production plan and for certain lags in the activity to diversify products, increase the share of high-quality products, utilize raw material resources and replace imports.

During the plenary proceedings, participants criticized the machine-building, machine-tools, electrical-engineering and electronics industries and the respective working people's councils which did not show firm concern for improving technologies, increasing the competitive degree of our products and modernizing them, by raising the quality of products, reducing production costs, generally disseminating the positive experience and strengthening order and discipline.

Criticizing certain manifestations of superficiality and bureaucratism in planning and the poor spirit of responsibility shown by financial-banking organizations in fully attaining the envisaged incomes, rationally utilizing funds and strengthening each unit's economic-financial self-administration, the plenum obligates the working people's councils in the planning and financial-banking system to deeply examine existing shortcomings in these fields, and to establish concrete measures to improve and perfect their activity.

The plenum of the working people's national council noted that there are also many deficiencies in the activity of the government, particularly that it does not lead the ministries firmly and efficiently, does not always take appropriate measures to resolve problems -- especially those concerning technical-material supply and the coordination of cooperation between ministries -- does not exercize exacting control over their activity and does not bring to account those leading cadres in ministries and other central bodies who repeatedly fail to do their duty.

The working people's national council obligates the management councils in ministries and the working people's councils in centrals, enterprises and other socialist units to take energetic measures, by pooling all efforts, to ensure that the plan for this first year of the 5-year plan is fulfilled in all indexes. Everything possible should be done to recover lags recorded in certain units, by placing greater emphasis on fully attaining the item-specified production and giving priority to attaining and delivering production earmarked for export.

The working people's national council calls upon the management councils in ministries, the working people's councils in industrial centrals and enterprises and all working people's collectives -- workers, engineers, technicians and specialized cadres -- to concentrate their efforts on ensuring that, as of the first day of 1982, all activity proceeds smoothly in all branches and sectors, so that we fulfill next year's plan in all indexes, under conditions of ever greater economic efficiency.

The plenum establishes that the management of ministries and centrals should primarily concern themselves with strengthening discipline, responsibility and exactingness, struggling against superficiality, formalism and bureaucratism and efficiently resolving all problems facing the activity of enterprises. In order to create a climate of high involvement and responsibility, it is necessary to resolutely combat the concepts of certain cadres in ministries, centrals and enterprises who do not adopt a firm position against such trends as: to obtain, through all kinds of derogations, reductions in the state plan; to resort too easily to imports, before fully utilizing the available technical and human potential; and to claim profits, without having fully attained the plan provisions.

The national council plenum obligates all ministries producing raw materials, fuel and energy to spare no effort to examplarily fulfill the plan provisions, to identify new reserves capable of enlarging our own base of raw materials, to increase the degree of meeting economic requirements from domestic resources and to substantially cut down on imports.

The energy and raw materials problem is the key element of fulfilling the plan, implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions, ensuring Romania's overall development and raising the entire people's well-being.

The plenum establishes that all ministries and the government should take resolute measures to fully utilize machines, equipment and installations, to repair, maintain and use them and to ensure the necessary spare parts and assembly-parts for the normal functioning of all production capacities.

The managements of ministries, centrals and enterprises should take appropriate measures to fully attain the investment plan, to concentrate all forces on priority projects due to be commissioned this year or in the first part of 1982, to reduce commissioning deadlines, to train manpower and to rapidly attain the envisaged parameters in all capacities.

The plenum calls upon all collective management bodies in ministries, centrals, enterprises and research and design institutes, and upon all foremen and experts to responsibly use all the experience and creative force available to us to raise the technical and qualitative level of products, to assimilate new products and technologies, to modernize existing ones and to rapidly introduce the latest achievement of science and technology into production.

The plenum of the working people's national council decides that the collective management bodies in ministries, centrals, enterprises and institutions should firmly apply the new economic-financial mechanism, and should strengthen workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, by taking action to develop each collective's responsibility for properly administering that part of the national wealth entrusted to it and to increasing production profitability and overall profits in order to increase the national income and, on this basis, to create the necessary resources for raising the entire people's living standard.

In view of the complexity and greater volume of projects envisaged in the uniform plan for the country's socioeconomic development next year and in the entire 5-year plan, and proceeding from the criticism and observations made during the discussions, the plenum of the working people's national council calls upon the ministries, central bodies and the government to take measures to continue to improve guidance and control methods, so as to better resolve all problems emerging in economic units and in the activity of centrals and enterprises.

The plenum calls upon the executive bureau of the working people's national council to thoroughly check and better organize the functioning of the management councils in ministries and other central bodies, so that they can properly fulfill their role and duties. Likewise, greater assistance should be given to the working people's councils in centrals, enterprises and other units in better organizing their entire activity.

The plenum endorses and approves the draft uniform national plan for the country's socio-economic development in 1982; the program on ensuring regional self-management and self-supply for 1982-85; and the program on supplies to the people for the fourth quarter of 1981 and the first half of 1982. The plenum obligates the government and the management councils of the Ministry of Domestic Trade, other ministries, all trade organizations and the consumer cooperative to take all measures to ensure appropriate and diversified supplies of seasonal staples and industrial products to the people, so as to better meet the people's needs, in accordance with the level and structure of incomes attained.

The plenum of the working people's National Council fully endorses the measures on adjusting and improving production and delivery prices of products in the socialist units, as well as production, contract and purchase prices in agriculture, something which will ensure the continuous and normal unfolding of economic activity, and will commendably apply the new economic-financial mechanism.

The plenum fully endorses the proposals to modify the law on organizing and running socialist units and granting broader scope to bodies of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, thus increasing the responsibility of each collective for carrying out these duties. The plenum calls upon all working people to exactly apply the new regulations included in the law concerning the duties and responsibilities of the working personnel for running and ensuring the proper functioning of the enterprise, administering the facilities entrusted to them rationally and efficiently, and increasing each unit's contribution to the overall development of society.

The plenum fully endorses the proposals on expanding the competence and improving the structure of the working people's National Council, increasing the duties of the council and its Executive Bureau, convening county conferences of the working people's councils and setting up county councils of the working people. The plenum charges the Executive Bureau with presenting the new draft law for approval.

Expressing the full endorsement of all working people, the plenum highly assesses Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's new and brilliant initiative embodied in the appeal for disarmament and peace of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, a document of broad international importance, which is the quintessence of all the people's desire for peace, the triumph of reason, halting the anomalous arms race and defending the most precious right of our planet's people, the right to life.

The working people's National Council pledges to firmly act, in a spirit of high exactingness and communist combativeness and responsibility, to implement the party-state domestic and foreign policy, to raise the entire activity of collective management bodies onto a higher qualitative stage, and to broadly mobilize the masses in exemplarily fulfilling tasks for this year, for 1982 and for the entire 1981-85 5-year plan.

The plenum of the National Council calls upon all working people's collectives to work better and in a more organized manner, to pool their efforts to fulfill the plan in all indexes, to better utilize existing material resources at everybody's place of work, to strengthen order and discipline in production, to observe manufacturing technologies, to continuously raise the quality of products and to make a full contribution to increasing the economic efficiency of the entire activity.

The plenum of the working people's National Council expresses the full conviction that all working people in industry, construction, transportation, goods circulation and finances will spare no effort to ensure the continuous prosperity of our socialist fatherland and strengthen its national independence and sovereignty.

CEAUSESCU SPEAKS AT AGRICULTURE COUNCIL PLENUM

AU271810 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Nov 81 pp 1 and 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the conclusion of the 23-24 November Bucharest plenum of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Administration]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the plenum of the National Council of Agriculture discussed very important issues concerning our agriculture and, one could say, the overall development of our socialist fatherland. The agenda included a large number of issues: reports on activities carried out thus far, the 1982 plan, the self-supply plan and a number of other important questions on improving agricultural activities.

As I was told, the discussions highlighted both the results attained this year in agricultural production -- and, generally speaking, we have a number of good results -- and certain very serious shortcomings and deficiencies which were unfortunately manifest this year in a number of agricultural units, including at the county level.

I did not participate in these discussions, but I hope that they took place in a spirit of high responsibility, and that the criticism and self-criticism practiced here pinpointed the causes of the serious shortcomings and deficiencies in our agriculture. Without diminishing our achievements at all and the fact that even this year our agricultural production does ensure good supplies to the people, one cannot ignore the fact that the production plan was not fulfilled and that the national economy is lacking important quantities of staples.

We have discussed the problems in agriculture several times this year. At the Harvest Day celebrations, I dwelt in detail on a number of problems, including the goals for 1982. The plan which you discussed and adopted during the National Council plenum contains provisions which ensure implementation of the 12th RCP Congress decisions on agriculture and the current 5-year plan provisions.

It is necessary to learn all the necessary lessons and draw conclusions from the present negative state of affairs. It is true that the weather conditions were not the best this year; however, to be frank, they were not the worst either.

If work had proceeded as it should have, we could have fulfilled and even exceeded the 1981 plan provisions for grain, beets, industrial crops and livestock. The nonfulfillment of the 1981 plan cannot be blamed on weather conditions. No matter how complicated the weather conditions may have been, the nonfulfillment of the plan can only be blamed, and must be blamed, on shortcomings in the organization and management of agriculture and in the utilization of the technical means and material base available to our agriculture. We have to proceed from this reality, comrades! And we must face it as it is. We need not look into books or statistics to prove that poor crops were also attained in the past under conditions of draught, blizzard and cold weather. All these things should stay in the archives -- we must not appeal to the past in order to justify a present negative state of affairs. We do not need justifications! We must look for the causes of the present situation in the way in which we organize and manage agricultural activities. Why do we have different results in neighboring localities of the same county, with similar conditions, the same fields, humidity and rain? In one place we have crops of 12,000 or 15,000 kg per hectare, while next door, so to speak, we have fields with crops of only 1,500 or 2,000 kg per hectare! You know that such results exist in all ounties. These results prove that each unit, engineer, mechanizer, cooperative worker, peasant and working man is capable of obtaining similar crops under similar conditions. What can one say about an agricultural unit which has only sowed 200 grain plants per square meter? Can it obtain a good crop? What about the agricultural unit, be it cooperative or state enterprise, which has sowed 25-30,000 corn plants per hectare? Can one attain good results with only half the necessary density? Can one attain good results with only half the necessary density? The same thing applies to potatoes, beets, hemp, vegetables and so forth. Let alone the fact that last year we did not complete fall plowing operations on almost half of the area sown during the spring. As experts, you all know that fall plowing means a surplus of at least 1,500 kg per hectare. This time we had a minus. If we add the draught to this, we had a minus twice over. What about the units which have carried out no weeding operations! You are well aware of the fact that one weeding equals one rain fall. The lack of rain should have been compensated by 2-3 extra weeding operations, let alone other measures. What can one say about those state and cooperative units with piles on piles of waste in stables, some of which has accumuliated for years on end thus becoming a source of infection, waste which should have been taken yearly into the fields to fertilize the soil. No chemical fertilizer can equal the natural manure we have but do not use. Instead, we let it deteriorate and become a source of infection.

What can one say about agricultural machinery stations which carry out plowing operations at 15-16 cm instead of the required 30-32 cm? What about those engineers, cooperative chairmen and even cooperative workers who turn a blind eye to this situation and do not bring the respective machinery stations to account or force them to repeat the plowing operations at their own expense and to pay themselves for the extra fuel additionally spent?

I am referring to all these things because they represent the causes that have led to the current situation. We cannot be satisfied with our crop, in spite of the fact that it does guarantee our supplies. We could have obtained a good crop in 1981. We must drawn the necessary conclusions from this. Proceeding from this consideration, I believe that the 1982 plan provisions are up to the level of the existing possibilities and material base. As a matter of fact, these provisions should be considered minimal. As I said at the "Harvest Day" celebrations, we must aim at attaining 4,000 kg wheat per hectare, regardless of plan provisions. This time we carried out showing operations under better conditions, although there are several counties lagging behind. What can one say about Timis County which was still sowing on 1 November. What kind of engineers and agricultural workers do they have there? Where do they get this retrograde and backward notion that November sowing will also produce wheat? This has led to the situation in which Banat Province, which was a front-ranking one in the past, now has the poorest crops. We must eliminate this notion from the minds of Banat experts. Likewise, we must eliminate this notion also propagated by the Timisoara Agricultural Institute and the Banat Research Station. With such a nation, one cannot attain an advanced agriculture. Life and reality have shown that only by observing certain sowing deadlines, the shorter the better, of course within the appropriate period, can we obtain large crops.

However, generally speaking, we carried out sowing operations under better conditions this year; I believe that over 85-90 percent of our sowing operations were carried out during optimum periods. Therefore, we have all conditions to attain these crops. The same situation applies to barley. Of course, we will have to make decisions in connection with corn and other crops next spring; but even here, we have to lay the proper foundation for good crops as of this fall, by completing plowing operations on time. There are still delays in this respect. Some 900,000 hectares are left to be plowed and it is imperative that we carry out fall plowing operations on the entire area under any conditions, including on plots of cooperative peasants and private plots. The entire area earmarked for spring sowing must be appropriately plowed and prepared now.

It is necessary to proceed from the fact that 1982 must lead to a radical change in our agriculture, a change that must take concrete shape in obtaining at least the planned production. However, we have the possibility and must aim at attaining greater production.

I talked about wheat and barley. We must thoroughly prepare spring sowing operations with the established densities. We must sow during the best periods and as soon as possible. The older people know that our old folks, both peasants and engineers, used to say that sowing must start with the melting of the snow; that is, toward the end of February. We kept practicing the so-called unification of sowing periods. But this unification did not mean that we brought sowing dates earlier; on the contrary, we pushed sowing operations which should have been carried out at the end of February and the beginning of March toward the end of March and the beginning of April -- hence, we delayed them by 1 month. As a matter of fact, this concept was introduced by the leadership of the Agriculture Ministry from snugness and indolence, coming up with all kinds of justifications.

We must properly understand that we can no longer tolerate these negative states of affairs! In the crop reports, we have established the sowing periods and it is compulsory that they be observed! We must sow on time and ensure the density of plants under any conditions. Under any conditions, 600 plants per square meter must ensure at least 5,000-6,000 plants per hectare; even under poor conditions, they must ensure an average of at least 4,000 kg per hectare. A density of 50-60,000 plants per hectare must ensure 5-6,000 kh corn per hectare. There is no corn cob under 100 grams; but we also have good hybrids which can give us 200 and even 300 and 400 grams per corn cob. We must select the appropriate hybrids and seed! We must put an end to all kinds of theories and trials! We have several good corn hybrids and we should grow them. Until we create other hybrids which have proven their capacity, let us use the existing ones! And we do have a hybrid which can easily produce 5-6-7,000 kg corn per hectare. There were very good corn productions of 7-8,000 kg per hectare under conditions of draught, with 1 and 1/2 months without rain. You are all familiar with these things. What can one say about the fact that we have the poorest crops in areas with 800-1,000 liters of rainfall per meter. In such areas we have natural irrigation, so to speak, and all we have to do is carry out operations on time and sow the fields properly. In counties with such rainfall level, all the prerequisites exist for the largest crops of wheat, corn and fodder. With us, it is the other way round; we have the smallest crops in such areas. How can one justify this, comrades? Can the engineers and experts in those areas explain this state of affairs other than through lack of responsibility and work organization?

Certainly, the Ministry of Agriculture is to blame because it was the one to instill this trend claiming that we must focus on the southern parts of the country and that not much would be achieved in mountainous areas anyway. This is wrong, it is a mistake and shows lack of knowledge about the realities in our country.

You see, comrades, I am dwelling on certain things you have to discuss, and I think that you have discussed them partly. I am dwelling on them because they are essential problems. If we do not understand this we will not be able to put an end to the inadmissible state of affairs in our agriculture. We have taken measures to ensure additional equipment, we have increased the plan provisions regarding mechanization in 1982.

Today at the plenum of the National Council of working people I asked the comrades in the tractor industry to tell us by Wednesday, when the Central Committee plenum will be held, whether they will be able to exceed the plan by several thousands, up to 5,000 tractors in addition to provisions. We want to supply equipment more rapidly and even an additional number than planned so that untimely deliveries of tractors are not taken as an excuse for not concluding work on time, although one could have performed the same work with the 150,000 tractors we have available today.

What can I say, comrades, when more than 2 million hectares have not been plowed since the wheat and barley harvesting in the summer. It is well known that summer plowing used to take place from 15-20 August and there was no unplowed hectare. Weather conditions have been excellent this summer and we have had enough equipment. If we allocate for plowing only 80,000 tractors, that is three hectares per day per tractor, then we will be able to plow everything that has to be plowed in 7 days. Thus, it is not the lack of mechnical means that is to blame, but simply the lack of organization and, I want to repeat, irresponsibility in taking measures to carry out agricultural work on time.

We have now worked out an appropriate program of measures for 1982. You have discussed these problems in the National Council plenum. I hope that all necessary conclusions will be drawn -- beginning with the ministry leadership down to the bottom, to each unit -- to put a halt to these states of affairs and to achieve in 1982 crops matching the existing possibilities in Romania. We have the necessary material basis and seeds available, and we have an appropriate labor force. We have a great number of all kinds of specialists in agriculture -- beginning with engineers, veterinary surgeons and zootechnicians -- in all fields; and we have workers and cooperative members who demonstrate and have demonstrated that they are able to achieve good crops. This actually represents the main force for, in the final analysis, it is the people who decide crops, production, and who ensure the fulfillment of the tasks devolving on us. I trust that the working people in agriculture, cooperative peasantry, machine operators, engineers and technicians will draw all the necessary conclusions and will demonstrate that shortcomings up to now have been accidental and that they are determined to take firm action in response to the party's trust to meet the expectations of our nation. [loud applause]

The second problem is in the animal breeding sector. Relatively speaking, we have good livestock. With the livestock we have available, we will be able to ensure proper supplies for the people and increase them in keeping with plan provisions. All these breeds of animals must be looked after properly and must yield the planned production. We must see that they reach their planned weight. We have 4.5 million hectares of pastures and grasslands alone would ensure more than the needed hay and coarse fodder for our livestock. We would achieve a minimum of some 30 tons per hectare if we made use of all the grassland wherever this is possible. We should include them in the plan on crops, including the plan on rotation of crops, to ensure a good general rotation and the cultivation of all pastures available in our country. We can no longer be content that they should serve simply as outings for the animals.

We must carry out additional sowing and tend the pastures and grasslands in mountainous areas. Where this has been done properly, we have achieved 30-35-40 tons or even higher yields of hay per hectare.

We have envisaged 1.2 million hectares of tillable land for the fodder base. Under normal circumstances, this land should yield at least 50-60 tons of hay per hectare. There are already units that achieve 80, 120, 150 and some even 200 tons of hay, and this also ensures a great quantity of fodder. We also have coarse fodder, straw, corn cobs and other fodders which have always been a fodder base and which must continue to be so; they should not be burned or be left in the field -- as is sometimes the case even now. Thus we have -- if I were to refer only to this area -- an adequate fodder base for our current livestock and for that envisaged for 1985 regarding all breeds. However, we must cultivate this land and achieve proper yields.

We must abandon the harmful practice of not taking animals to pasture. It is necessary for us to revert to what used to be a tradition in Romanian animal breeding; namely, that animals used to stay in the pastures from May to October.

Thus they were both healthy and productive. We have taken some measures this year, but beginning with next year we must fully apply them and we must take other measures with which you are familiar.

Roughage fully meets our needs and even allows for an adequate reserve if we achieve the planned production. Fodder concentrates -- with grain -- also ensure fodder for our animals in keeping with the known norms which are somewhat higher than the consumption in other countries. We have proceeded from this average consumption which in the case of livestock shows that we have enough fodder concentrates. Some 11-12 million tons of fodder concentrates -- if we include in our calculation also the animals owned by private individuals -- wil completely ensure the fodder envisaged by plan.

I am dwelling on this problem because animal breeding is a particularly important aspect of agriculture and the national economy. It is the field in which we must put complete order in 1982. We have enough livestock to ensure the fulfillment of the provisions of the plan on supplies, under favorable conditions. The problems in the animal breeding sector are known, they have been discussed; however, responsible action is necessary to put order and discipline in this sector.

The third problem is that of the food industry. We have had a program on developing the food industry and programs for various sectors which, however, have not been implemented, and in fact our food industry is lagging. We have proposed -- and we have worked out a special program for the current 5-year plan -- to achieve a daily processing capacity of at least 100,000 tons of beets, so that we will not go beyond the end of the year, the end of December with sugar beet processing. We must achieve this! We have proposed to do the same thing in the case of edible oil and butter, meat processing and so forth.

We must be all means take determined measures so that all programs on developing the food industry -- including bakeries, bread factories and bakehouses in villages -- are implemented. Let us do all we can to implement the program on developing the food industry in keeping with both the raw materials available and our consumption requirements. We have ensured the complete material base for this; we have established what equipment is needed to achieve this. The only thing needed now are concrete measures on the part of the ministry and the department for the food industry to ensure achieving these targets.

There are also problems linked with the agricultural academy, with seen production, seedlings and animal breeds. We have achieved certain results; however, there is great disorder in ensuring appropriate seeds, the right amount of seeds on time, the control of seeds and the responsibility for seed quality and germination. We must put order and introduce discipline in this respect as well! The Agricultural Academy must be fully responsible for achieving these targets under ministry control and that of the National Council of Agriculture.

We have serious problems with irrigation, primarily with using existing irrigation systems, not all of which operate as they should. We still have to build a great number of irrigation systems in the current 5-year plan, but I would like to draw special attention to drainage work and land improvement. First and foremost we must focus our attention on completing drainage work and ensuring the operation of canals, of the necessary pumps and the drainage equipment for excess water so as to appropriately make use of lands with abundant precipation -- that is, enough so that no irrigation is needed -- but where poor crops are achieved because the necessary drainage work has not been tended properly.

Beginning with the current year, within the framework of land improvement we must give priority to drainage work and to ensuring the proper operation of these systems, of course, without by any means neglecting the proper operation of irrigation systems and the fulfillment of the current 5-year plan provisions.

There a few very important things on which depend the implementation of the 12th party congress decisions in agriculture, the achievement of the new agrarian revolution -- which, in fact, presupposes ensuring an agriculture on scientific bases, a highly efficient agriculture matching the existing possibilities in Romania. And we must do all we can to achieve all this in the current 5-year plan beginning with 1982.

We must take firm measures to introduce order and discipline in the proper operation of all units, leading councils, cooperatives, state enterprises and agricultural machine stations. We must put order in mechanizing agricultural activity. Let us closely link machine operators to cooperatives and state enterprises. The cooperative and state production units must have under their jurisdiction both the cooperative members and the mechanization means. They must learn how to use them and what work has to be performed and when. We must stop anarchy when the management of agricultural machine stations decide whether work should be carried out or not. Agriculture must have a single commander and he is the chairman, the chief engineer, the cooperative management council; or the director, the management council and the chief engineer in the state agricultural enterprise. (prolonged applause)

It is necessary to increase the responsibility of general meetings, of cooperatives, councils, agricultural state enterprises and agricultural mechanization stations. We must proceed from the fact that the general meeting represents the supreme leadership forum of producers and landowners, both in cooperatives and state enterprises. It is inadmissible that cooperative members and workers in state enterprises should not show the necessary concern for and should not bring to account those who do not do their duty. We must see to it that general meetings become the supreme forum, and th[illegible]he working people -- both responsible and act in this respect, and that they represent t[illegible]e basic force of achievements in agriculture. (lively applause)

Let us see to it that the joint agro-industrial councils operate properly as bodies coordinating and organizing work, and not as bodies replacing the activity of cooperatives or agricultural state enterprises, and which lead to raising clerks and to disorganizing the agricultural production process. Apart from the large animal breeding farms, which have been built to raise pigs, the so-called associations are neither justified in vegetable and wine growing nor in fruitgrowing. Cooperatives and agricultural state enterprises must be responsible for and manage their own means. (prolonged applause)

Another problem is the crop rotation system, the need to ensure the coordination of activity to combat pests and that of ensuring the joint use of agro-industrial products through joint storage and enterprises at the level of the agro-industrial council in order to cut back useless expenditures.

It is finally necessary for the agricultural general directorates to assume the responsibility devolving on them. I must openly state that I am not satisfied with how the county agricultural directorates -- including a great number of complicated bodies with a lot of personnel -- are carrying out their activity. I believe we have created too large and too bureaucratic an apparatus which is concerned with pushing paper and not with agriculture. We must give up what has unjustifiably been created to have an apparatus of office workers and to turn engineers into specialists in manufacturing paper instead of specialists in grain crops. It is not for this that we need engineers! Even so we have enough institutions that produce only clerks. The agronomist must concern himself with wheat and corn crops, with grains, industrial plants and all the other things, and not with paper. We must remove paperwork from the engineer's duties and put him in charge of agricultural production! That is what he learned and that is what he should do! (lively applause) We must take away paperwork from animal breeders and veterinary surgeons; they must take care of animals, of their health and not deal with paperwork to justify why animals died. This is not what veterinary surgeons are for! The same thing is valid for all sectors. I believe that one of the most pressing problems is that all specialized personnel should concern themselves with the production process, that the agricultural directorate should deal with the organization and proper guidance of agricultural production. Its specialists should give advice and discuss how things should be organized and what seeds should be developed. We should keep neither economists nor clerks to deal with a lot of paperwork, because they will thus bury the engineer and specialist under such paperwork. (lively applause)

We must revise all these trusts and paratrusts and all kinds of enterprises set up in counties and simplify them, dissolving the majority of them. Let us move the activity to units, to the production process because that is where work is performed. (applause)

The same thing is valid for the Ministry of Agriculture. We have achieved a ministry with a very big and disproportionate head compared with its body and base. And because of this, it is no longer able to do anything. We need a leadership and body in agriculture with a head proprotionate to agriculture and to the forces in agriculture, so that it can efficientiy guide and think. We do not need a big head, full of papers which stop it from thinking and leading agriculture. It is necessary to eliminate this negative situation in the leadership of the Ministry of Agriculture. We need a supple ministry, with a smaller number of personnel, without many economic directorates, because in another form we have three other ministries and thus a great number of specialists who have been taken away from agricultural production and who produce paperwork and are not responsible for anything. We must create a supple and efficient ministry and direct all forces in it, too, toward where the grain is grown, where animals are fattened and where all the crops we need are cultivated. Thus, we must rapidly reorganize the Ministry of Agriculture before the end of the year. (lively applause)

At the same time, we must examine how the Agricultural Academy is working. We have created too big a central apparatus. We have very many institutes, and here, too, specialists, instead of doing research work and working on farms, carry out work in a laboratory. Whatever one does, seeds cannot be achieved in a laboratory. Animal breeds cannot be raised in Otopeni. We have criticized the fact that the institute for animal research was too big -- however, totally speaking, it numbered, in all fields, some 180 people at that time, and we still criticized it for being too big. Now it has reached some 3,500 people, almost 20 percent more people than the institute for zootechnical research numbered in the past -- and yet animal breeding sector is not doing well. We do not need a large central apparatus and large central institutes. What we need is scientific guidance based on the people who are working in stations and who will meet the share their experience and ensure the introduction of research results into the production process.

The situation is better in Fundulea; however, we also have other institutes in Bucharest. Thus, in this field, too, there is room for improvement. I believe that problems that are posed to fulfill the plan and implement the 12th party congress decisions require firm organizational measures, from top to bottom, to not increase the role of office workers and paperwork, but the role of specialists in production, to place responsibility on them and to make them demonstrate their creative energy. And I am convinced that there will be thousands on thousands of specialists with excellent results in all fields! (stormy, prolonged applause)

This certainly also presupposes an improvement in the activity of the National Council of Agriculture and its Executive Bureau. I want to ask the comrades in ministries who do not deal with agriculture to understand that this time we want to discuss agriculture and not generally about all these ministries. Therefore I did not refer to them and I will not refer to them now. They also have many problems but I hope they will draw conclusions from what has been said to those dealing with agriculture.

It is therefore necessary for the National Council of Agriculture and its Executive Bureau to draw the necessary conclusions and to fulfill their role of collective leader of agriculture -- one of the basic branches of the Romanian economy.

I am convinced that we have everything necessary available in agriculture to surmount the current state of affairs and to rapidly eliminate shortcomings and radically improve the overall activity, so that in 1982 we will be able to demonstrate that Romanian agriculture, the working people and specialists and agriculture are able and have the necessary energy to implement the 12th party congress decisions to increase the contribution made by agriculture to the general development of our socialist fatherland and to improving the people's general well-being! (loud, prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the People!")

With this conviction, I wish all working people in agriculture, the cooperative peasantry, the specialists in all fields, all of you and the National Council of Agriculture increasingly greater successes in all your activity and much good health and great happiness. (loud, prolonged cheers and applause; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" Those present in the hall give prolonged ovations to the RCP and its secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS PEACE MEETING HELD

Addressed by Patriarch 26 Nov

AU261820 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Nov (AGERPRES) -- A meeting of religious denominations for disarmament and peace started in Bucharest attended by heads of religious denominations in Romania and representatives of religious denominations from numerous countries in Europe and from the United States of America.

In his opening speech the patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church Justin Moisescu, pointed out that the movement for peace in Europe and throughout the world initiated by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, whose expression is the appeal for peace and disarmament of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, aroused high interest not only in Romania but also abroad enjoying the adhesion of all the peace-loving people. The events taking place all over Romania these days -- the speaker went on -- are a most eloquent proof of the Romanian people's will to live in peace with all the peoples of the world, as well as of Romania's participation in the struggle for safeguarding peace.

Representatives of religious denominations in Romania and from abroad said that they joined those declaring for the cessation of the arms race, for the freeing of mankind of the nightmare of another world scourge, for peace and collaboration among all the peoples of the world.

The proceedings are to conclude on November 26.

Interdenominational Meeting Ends

AU271150 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 27 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The proceedings of the meeting for peace and disarmament of the religious denominations in Romania concluded its proceedings in Bucharest on November 26.

The meeting was attended by heads of religious denominations in Romania and by representatives of religious communities from 17 countries of the world.

114 speakers took the floor during the plenary and per section meetings.

Heads of religious denominations in Romania expressed their adhesion to the peace initiative of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, to the appeal for disarmament and peace of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

The foreign guests stressed in their address that they joined in the movement for peace that is asserting itself ever more powerfully throughout the world and militates for concrete measures of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, for a balance of forces at the lowest not the highest level.

During the final session a motion was adopted that expresses the firm adhesion of all the members of the religious committees in Romania to the appeal for peace and disarmament of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, their determination to make their contribution to the implementation of the programme of peace, freedom and good understanding among people, among peoples, initiated by President Nicolae Ceausescu, by Socialist Romania.

The call was also adopted of the religious denominations in Romania to disarmament, peace and good understanding among people and peoples which reads among other things: We, the representatives of the religious denominations in Romania, call on the governments of all states, the United Nations Organization, on all well-wishing people all over the world to unflinchingly act against the intensification of the arms race, for general and especially for nuclear disarmament, for the reduction of military expenditures, for preventing the deployment and development of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, for the withdrawal and liquidation of the existing ones, for the banning of the manufacture and use of the neutron bomb and of other mass destruction weapons.

A telegram was addressed at the end of the meeting to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and United Front, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Your brilliant peace initiative, in the particularly serious context of a tense international situation and unprecedented escalation of the arms race, mobilizes us, the ministers of religious denominations, as well to firm and immediate actions for disarmament and the triumph of the cause of peace, alongside the Romanian people and all well-wishing people everywhere, the telegram reads. We pledge to support the great actions of the peoples that struggle energetically and firmly for the triumph of peaceful reason, of disarmament, for safeguarding life on the earth.

SOVIET CULTURE DELEGATION VISITS BUCHAREST

Cultural Protocol Signed 30 Nov

AU301546 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] The 11th session of the Joint Romanian-Soviet Governmental Commission was held in Bucharest. At the end of the session, the chairmen of the two sides of the commission, Suzana Gadea, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, and USSR Culture Minister Petr Demichev, signed a protocol which envisages measures to further develop bilateral cultural cooperation.

Ceausescu Receives Demichev

AU301941 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, received on November 30 Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, minister of culture of the USSR, who attended the proceedings of the second session of the Joint Romanian-Soviet Governmental Commission of Cultural Collaboration that took place in Bucharest.

The guest conveyed to Nicolae Ceausescu warm greetings and most cordial wishes from Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, from the other members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the wishes and requested that Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, the other members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU be conveyed warm greetings and best wishes.

During the interview satisfaction was expressed at the good relations existing between the RCP and the CPSU, between Romania and the Soviet Union, relations that are steadily expanding and deepening in the spirit of the understandings convenanted between Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. Likewise, the good results were highlighted scored in the Romanian-Soviet cooperation in culture. The joint wish was expressed to intensify the cooperation actions in that domain, to capitalize, as efficiently as possible, the existing possibilities.

Stress was laid on the role of the men of science and letters in general in safeguarding human civilization and in developing human society, on the contribution they must make to strengthening peace and detente, to developing collaboration among peoples.

The exchange of views on international issues also highlighted the need for sustained efforts towards ensuring peace and international security, towards establishing a climate of trust and collaboration among all the nations of the world, the importance of adopting concrete measures of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, the significance of the resolution of the complex questions of the contemporary world in the interests of all peoples, of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

IONITA RECEIVES USSR WATER RESOURCES MINISTER

AU281914 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Nov 81 p 6

[Text] Comrade Ion Ionita, deputy prime minister of the government, received on Tuesday N.F. Vasilyev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources, who is paying a visit to our country. During the meeting the sides examined ways and means to expand and diversify cooperation in water administration and land reclamation.

Ion Iliescu, chairman of the National Council of Waters, also participated in the talks. (L.I. Boyko), minister-counsellor at the USSR Embassy in Bucharest, was also present.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH PRC SIGNED

AU261849 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Beijing, 26 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The third session of the Romanian-Chinese Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Collaboration was held in Beijing over November 16-24.

The current stage of the economic and technical collaboration between the two countries as well as the measures and actions meant to contribute to the further development of commercial exchanges and technical collaboration in production in accordance with the potential of the two countries' national economies in full development process were examined during the proceedings in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

Starting from the joint wish to further deepen the economic and technical collaboration between the two countries, from their requirements and possibilities, on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual advantage, the sides established measures for intensifying cooperation in the mining, coal, oil, electric power, machine-building fields, for developing and diversifying collaboration in chemical industry, electronics and electrical engineering, agriculture, building materials and other domains. It was also established that, as part of the preparations made for the conclusion of the 1982 trade protocol, both sides should examine possibilities of developing commercial exchanges so that the mutual requirements for goods be met to a greater extent.

At the end of the proceedings, the co-chairmen of the commission, Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, and Chen Muhua, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-premier of the State Council, signed the protocol of the third session of the commission.

POLISH GOODS, PAYMENTS PROTOCOL SIGNED 28 NOV

AU282117 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1955 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Nov (AGERPRES) -- On November 28, the protocol on goods exchange and payments for 1982 between Romania and Poland was signed in Bucharest. It stipulates the further development of trade exchanges between the two countries.

According to the terms of the document, Romania will deliver to Poland, among other things, machine-tools for progressing metals, products of the electrotechnical and electronic industries, drilling rigs, machines for constructions and roads, measurement and control instruments and automation elements, mine and railway locomotives, farm machinery, Dacia cars, oil coke, polysoprenic rubber, black, polyacrylonitrile fibres, aluminium and aluminium semi-products, medicines, tyres, canned vegetables, fruit and fresh vegetables, wine, furniture and other consumer goods.

In her turn, Poland will export in Romania, mainly, machine-tools for processing metals, metallurgical equipment, mining machinery and equipment, naval engines and equipment, diesel engines, electronic computation technique, machines for constructions and roads, outfit for the industry of cellulose and paper, measurement and control instruments, coking and energy coal, metallurgical coke, sulphur, copper and copper semi-products, polypropylene, medicines, cotton fabrics and other industrial consumer goods.

For Romania, the protocol was signed by Ion Stoian, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and for Poland by Wladislaw Gwiazda, deputy minister of foreign trade.

Cornel Burtica, Romanian deputy prime minister, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received on November 28 Wladislaw Gwiazda.

During the interview, the good relations of friendship established between the two countries and peoples were highlighted and new ways of developing collaboration and diversifying mutual trade exchanges were analyzed.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES WEST BERLIN PARTY LEADER

AU262110 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2024 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP received on November 26, the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, led by Horst Schmitt, president of the party, now paying a visit to Romania.

Approaching international question, Nicolae Ceausescu and Horst Schmitt highlighted the necessity to take firmer action for the elimination of the policy of force and dictate, for ensuring the observance of the principles of international law in interstate relations.

Special attention was paid to the problems related to strengthening the European security and cooperation stress falling on the importance of concentrating the efforts of all the peace-loving fores in view of concluding successfully the Madrid conference.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Horst Schmitt highlighted the importance of passing immediately the negotiations for adopting efficient measures for doing away with the danger of a war and for creating a climate of confidence meant to favour the development of collaboration and cooperation among all states. They appreciated the importance of the big manifestation for peace and disarmament held in various European countries.

The sides also stressed the importance of concentrating efforts for liquidating under-development and setting in a new world economic order.

The exchange of views on problems of the communist and working class movement occasioned a reassertion of the two parties' resolve to take action for developing and strengthening the collaboration and solidarity among the communist and workers' parties setting out from the principles of fully equal rights, observance of each party's autonomy, of the right to decide their own political line, the revolutionary ways and means, in tune with the realities and specific conditions in each country.

The sides stressed the importance of strengthening the collaboration among the communist, socialist, social-democratic, democratic-Christian, liberal parties and the national liberation movements, among the progressive, anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, for national independence and social progress.